sing, and all other tion, at reasonable

THE LIBERATOR

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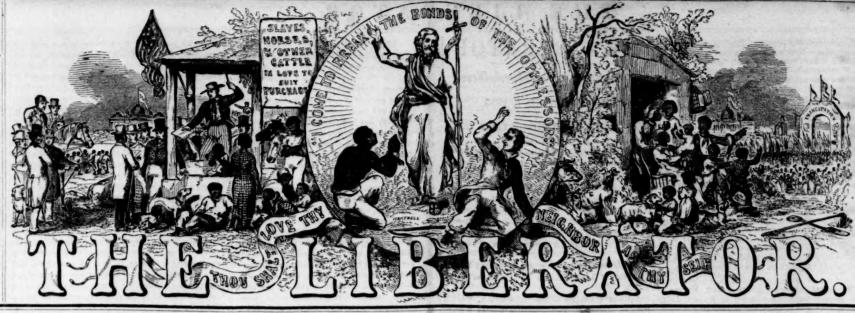
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In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of over question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. VOL. XXV. NO. 22.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding

lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES—OR

engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' -- John Quincy Adams.

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINSON

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1855.

WHOLE NUMBER 1091.

### From the Charleston Mercury, May 19. A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE CONDITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

The history of party is the history of opinions; ad for the last twenty years in the United States, then scarcely more than the history of Abo-from the origin of the Government to the at time, the antagonism between the North time, the south has been steadily developing itself the departments of feeling and of thought ndering religious associations, controlling litre, and embittering section against section. construct this and Party organizations, patch-p truces, and shallow compromises, have all their day and have all fallen beneath the violence incurable, hopeless malady. The ver make them so .

nanifestations of this antagonism took onewhat different form from that which it now names. Bounties, tariffs and discriminations in or of the North, and against the South, were and of the North, and against the South, were at the faults of the same germ—sectional lust—ind their tendency was, by robbing the South of he just rewards of her labor, to impoverish and taken her, and thus prepare the way for Abolion itself. High tariffs and Abolition were but tion itself. High tarills and Abolition were out parts of the same policy. Hence the Whig party, which began with the principle of protection, soon became at the North the organ of Anti-Slavery, and continued to sink deeper and deeper into it, until that wing abandoned its own national platform, t over, 'horse, foot and dragoons,' to the It is curious, too, to remark, that Abditionists. It is curious, too, to remark, that as the principles of protection grew weaker, until in 1852, the Whig Convention practically ignored it in its platform, that of Abolition was steadily in the ascendant. Henry Clay, its renowned leader, was then stretched upon his dying bed, and Webster's conservatism was fast tottering beneath the intelerant functions of Seward. The Whig party collections are its Northern and Southern wings. so long as its Northern and Southern wings rained from sectional tests. The tariff was not sectional test. It had its friends in both sections But Abolition was a sectional test, of the Chind. But Abolition was a sectional test, and knote the Northern Whig party, as it gradually become more and more abolitionized, grew stronger at party it fell, after having exhausted every expediate to preserve its existence. It fell because Anti-Navery at the North is stronger than Whiggery—because yet the strenger was a support of the strenger of the North is stronger than Whiggery—because Anti-Navery at the North in the Navery at the North in the Navery at the North in the Navery at the Navery

Salery at the North is Mronger than Waggery—scase it can no longer control the latent antago-pism between the North and South.

The Democratic party, too, at the North, has land in itself the same element of dissolution. It yield-ed to the same sectional lust when it passed the Tariff of 1828, the Force bill, enacted the Tariff Commence of 292 and induced it in 242. It had Compromise of '32, and violated it in '42. It had always a greater support in the South, because it wowed the immortal doctrine of State-Rights and ree-Trade. In 1838, before Abolition had yet ac-nired full force, it passed in the Senate the Atherresolutions, denying the right of Congress to oterfere with slavery; and a few years after, when bolition sentiment had more entirely seized upon ne North, it threw open the doors of Congress, by he repeal of the twenty-first rule, to petitions ag-ressive and insulting to the South. The poison Northern sectionalism was gradually working sway. In 1846 the Tariff was modified; the anism on this point had grown weaker, and the more fiercely than ever Slavery was excluded from Oregon by a Democratic Administration, and Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat, introduced his famous Proviso. It was the first attempt to exclude the South from the common territory. It laid bare the designs of the North, and the most Union-loving men in the South eli there was danger ahead from their Northern diance. When the next Presidential canvass pened, both Whig and Democratic parties at-capted to cast out this element of sectional dis-ard, and restore their lost nationality. The slacird, and restore their lost nationality. The slavery question was smoothed over in their platforms, and pledges of peace given in exchange for the support of the South. They were accepted, and Whiggery, everywhere strengthened by Southerness confidence in a Southern man, elected General Taylor to the Presidency. He proved false to his pledges, false to his constitutional oath, and false to the South, when he erected California, by military usurpation, into a few State. The disposal ry usurpation, into a free State. The disposal f the territories acquired from Mexico next brought p the issue. The Compromise followed, in which a attempt was again made to stille the antago-m and save the Union. Pledged to its support, oth parties went into the last election for Presiless. The Democrats carried the day, and President Pierce was elected. With the hope of driving Abelition forever from the fluors of Congress, the Abolition forever from the floors of Congress, the Northern Democrats brought forward the Nebrasla bill. The Missouri Compromise Line, which the South had repeatedly tendered to the North as a settlement of the question, but which they steadily rejected, was repealed, and the lauded Unionsaving principles of the Compromise of 1850 reenacted in the Nebraska bill. But Anti-Slavery,
which in 1820 eagerly acceded to the Missouri
Line, and in 1850 robbed the South, by this same
compromise, of all her Territories, had grown too
insolent and powerful now to listen to any further
compromises. Squatter sovereignty was good doc-Squatter sovereignty was good doo he whereby to exclude the South, but a foul weng when by it she might colonize Kansas. And what has been the result? The Democratic party, which, his the Whig, had been struggling to preserve the nationality, finds itself at last overwhelmed by the sational issue, and utterly broken up by Abolition.—There remains no common relatives upon which There remains no common platform upon which either the Whig or the Democratic party can unite their Northern and Southern wings. All hope of national organizations, on the basis of either, is shown to be hopeless by the history of the North during the past year. The antagonism has triamphed.

Such was the state of the old parties, when Such was the state of the old parties, when, about a year ago, the Know Nothing Order first make its mark in the polities of the country. It proposed to bury the old issues which had divided the North and the South, and to erect upon their twee agrand, comprehensive, national idea, which would override all sectional differences, and give peace and security to the Union. Sick as men were of the old parties, disgusted at their vain expedients, and ured by its peculiar principles, the new party gathered to its folds many adherents.

We do not care now to question the justice of

Party gathered to its folds many adherents.

We do not care now to question the justice of the antagonism which this party assumes to exist between the native and foreign born, and which constitutes the chief basis of its organization. We are willing to accept it as a fact. Yet, what do we see! It excludes the foreign element, because it is supposed to be radical, disturbing and antagonistic to a stable nationality, and asserts that the native born are the only true friends of order, conservatism, and the Union. We have the history of

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION. the past six months before us to test these principles. The election at the North came on, and everywhere the "Fusion" between Abolition and the In the life-time of Webster, when great measures

mask which men for thirty years have been throw-ing over the hideous forms of Anti-Slavery has fallen off, and unappeased, and unappeasable it pre-sents itself for deadly combat with the South.— That the South can touch a national organization which strikes at slavery, is not to be thought of.
The day of national parties is therefore at an end.
Anti-Slavery and aggression upon the South control the North. Must they not destroy the Union!

d Gov. Reeder. We desire to prevent civil war and fraternal We desire to prevent civil war and fraternal bloodshed. Hence we say that since the Missonians have literally expelled a Governor who was not only involved in land and Indian speculations (for which he deserves to be broke as the President knows, if one-half of the Indian Bureau Commissioner's report be true,) but who it is also alleged interfered with the political rights of the people of Kansas. Will the President send back such a Governor at the head of troops, and put him over and maintain him over a free and jealous people by force of arms!

## From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

## MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATION. Ever since the decease of Daniel Webster, the

State of Massachusetts has taken decisive steps backward, and now, as if to complete her degrada-tion, by a single bound, she has passed an Act, tion, by a single bound, she has passed an Act, over the veto of Governor Gardner, to nullify the operation of a law of Congress, and so much of the Constitution as provides that fugitives from labor and service shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due. The fame of Daniel Webster reached its highest point from the delivery of his celebrated speech in reply to Hayne. That speech gave the death-blow to nullification in the South. It was circulated over Massachusetts, and received with just pride in every quarter of the State. The speech raised the fame of Massachusetts to an elevation never before known, except perhaps in those revolutionary known, except perhaps in those revolutionary times when an Adams, an Otis, and a Hancock, set the ball of revolution in motion, and gave to Patrick Henry an occasion for the memorable sentence. The next wind that sweeps from the North,

rowhere the 'Fusion' between Abolition and the New Order carried the day. The faith of Southern men began to tremble. What hopes could be had of a National party at all acceptable to the South, which signalized its first triumphs in alliance with Free Soilers! But still the cry was kept up. We still heard of the great American, national organization, in which the Slavery question was to be buried forever. This affiliation with Free Soilers was only a local affair. The Massachusetts Legislature, in which the Know Nothings were omnipotent, met, and in a few short weeks has given to the world a record of fanaticism, of disgusting rowdyism and shame, which the most degenerate poeterity will blush to peruse. In the frenzy of Abolition, they have attempted to make the Judiciary, that great stronghold of liberty, the vassal ciary, that great stronghold of liberty, the vassal instead of standing upon the pinnacle of fame as and tool of mob fanaticism; and they are about to she did then when Webster had the lead, stands as The same Council for the State of New York have turned their backs upon an effort made by Mr. Fillmore and his friends to stifle the slavery will be might be expected to stand with Sumner and Wilson at the post which Webster filled. Her name is now on the lips of thousands, but with less in this organization. We might pile proof upon proof to the same effect. Anti-Slavery will be,—not the last, as Webster predicted, to disturb the transfer of the work of the North A postary organization. upon proof to the same effect. Anti-Slavery will be,—not the last, as Webster predicted, to disturb into go down at the North. A party, organized to put down an influence, said to be hostile to the Union, has itself fallen prey to the same evil! A compact by which her own existence was sequently which was to kill sectional differences and consolidate the Union, has in its first victories the Act by which it is violated? Governor Gardner, with the true spirit of her ancient sons, vetoed the Judiciary and raised a flavour war against the Judiciary, and raised a fiercer war against the South than ever before. There remains no hope of a National Know Nothing Organization. That party has gone the way of the Whig and Democratic parties.

What is the lesson taught! The North will not abandon the schemes of Abolition. Fanaticism is stronger than parties, and national organizations to which they had sworn to support, and attempted to establish Northern nullification.

### From the National Intelligencer. CIVIL COURAGE.

The courage to do right, while all the influences and trammels of a powerful party organization are holding out inducements to a contrary course, may trol the North. Must they not destroy the Union that the North. Must they not destroy the Union that the North. Must they not destroy the Union that the North. Must they not destroy the Union that the Must daring act of bravery in battle. When we compare the courageous conduct of Judge Loring, while acting as United States Commissioner in the case of Burns, with that of Governor Gardner in refusing to accede to the request of so large a majority of the Legislature to remove the Commissioner from his State office of Judge of Probate, we are at loss to decide which is most worthy of the meed of praise. The one, amid the be regarded as a nobler example of true manhood extracts show the way in which that journal speaks of the late outrages in Kansas, and the return of Gov. Reeder to his official post in that Territory:—

"Governor Reeder is to be sent back among the border ruffians" (as they are styled by himself.) and the "ruffians" (as they are styled by himself.) and the "ruffians" (as they are styled by himself.) and the "ruffians" are told by the President that "not for a single moment has Gov. Reeder been diverted from the straightforward path of duty!"—that the "ruffians" (and not Gov. Reeder) are wrong—that they have been ruffianly enough to make a "pretext" of the conduct of the Anti-Slavery men to do wrong themselves—that Gov. Reeder has maintained the attitude which General Pierce "expected" him "to maintain," and that he goes back to "discourage every movement" that will disturb the public mind.

Now the President and Col. Forney both know full wall the Consensation of the color of the straightforward path of duty!"—the color of the state of the conduct of the Anti-Slavery men to do wrong themselves—that Gov. Reeder has maintained the attitude which General Pierce "expected" him "to maintain," and that the goes back to "discourage every movement" that will disturb the public mind.

Now the President and Col. Forney both know full wall the Consensation of the commissioner from his State office of Judge of Probate, we are at loss to decide which is most worthy of the meed of praise. The one, and the worthy of the meed of probate, we are at loss to decide which is most worthy of the meed of prohate, we are at loss to decide which is most worthy of the meed of probate, we are at loss to decide which is most worthy of the meed of prohate, worthy of the meed of that State Government, has boldly ventured to sustain the dignity and though the surger of a national law; the other, selected by the triumphant party of worthy of the meed of that State Government, has boldly ventured to he goes back to "discourage every movement" that will disturb the public mind.

Now the President and Col. Forney both know full well that Gov. Reeder's re-appearance in Kansas as will be the signal for civil war. We do not believe that there will be one moment's peace in Kansas, if he returns. Right or wrong, (and we say not which,) a provisional government will spring up as suddenly into existence in Kansas as it did in Paris: the people of Kansas will not allow General Pierce to force Anti-Slaveryism or an Anti-Slavernor Governor upon them, and hough to know it and doubtless does know it. \* \*

The country will bear us witness that we have over and over again made this declaration, that the Forney and the Pierce men were not worthy of Southern confidence, but we did not expect so soon a formal acknowledgement of this truth. We supposed that it would be postponed till after the Virginia election. The result in Virginia, however, is now so sure to be adverse to the views of the Administration, and they so clearly see it, that it is not deemed important to put off what they cannot evade, and they now thrown off the mask, and declared for Gov. Reeder, and against the South.

Richmond; for, though somewhat similar in its circumstances to those which surrounded Judge Loring, and though the feeling was depp and apprately mencing, the danger to Judge Chase was not as great as his friends alleged, and the character of the excited crowd which filled the hall at Richmond forbade the idea of personal violence; still the scene was enough to try the Judge's nerves, but he executed his sacred office with a stern defiance of the popular feeling—which, young as we were, we fully partook of—in a manner which, we well remember, commanded the admiration of many who most condemned its exercise.

The only instance of moral courage that we know of, in the history of our country, which can justly be compared with the heroism of the two individuals in question is also a Boston case—that of John Adams, who, though a leading and most a

have now thrown off the mask, and declared for Gov. Reeder, and against the South.

It is our judgment that if he (the President) even attempts to force Gov. Reeder upon them contrary to their will, and after they have repudiated him, they will resist. They will not be forced. They may or they may not throw him into the Missouri River; but we do not believe they will allow this Administration to impose him upon them. All this may be wrong on the part of the Missourians. We are simply dealing with facts or what is wrong, as between the Missourians and Gov. Reeder.

We desire to prevent civil war and fraternal

## THE NULLIPICATION BILL PASSED!!

The extraordinary bill, intended to deny a plain constitutional provision; intended to nullify a law of Congress; intended to bring the authorities of the Commonwealth into a conflect with the authorities of the United States; intended to involve the community in CIVIL WAR, passed yesterday to be engrossed in our Know Nothing House of Representatives! is now, or soon will be, before the Governor for his signature!

ernor for his signature! Such a bill as this has been again and again Such a bill as this has been again and again brought before the General Court since 1850; but there has been good sense enough, in one branch or the other, to defeat this cherished purpose of abolition fanatics. But no such good sense could be looked for in the present abolition set of legislators. Argument on such a body is lost. The infamous bill passed with but three rotes against it in the Senate; and only 43 rotes out of about 375 members could be rallied expinet it in the House!

could be rallied against it in the House!
So both branches have done all they can to put
Massachusetts out of the Union; to deliberately Massachusetts out of the Union; to deliberately defy the laws of Congress as sustained by the judgments of the Supreme Court, and every State Court in the Union—save only one, we believe, in Wisconsin; to place the citizens of Massachusetts in direct conflict with the national government. The whole of that part of this infamous code that does this—the whole of the portion that attempts to substitute State proceedings, as to fugitive slaves, for the proceedings of existing laws of Congress, is NULL and void; and whoever attempts to act under it will be liable to punishment.

Never before was this State so deeply disgraced. Shame on the treason! Shame on the traitors to

Never before was this State so deeply disgraced. Shame on the treason? Shame on the traitors to shall bring to us the clash of resounding arms.'

But now, without the justification which South Carolina had for attempting to pass an Act of nullification,—for hers was aimed at what was unconstitutional,—Massachusetts has begun a career which, if carried out, will render the work of her

## SELECTIONS.

### MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS FROM KANSAS.

The following Memorial to Congress from citizens and esidents of Kansas is written with great dignity and force, and gives, undoubtedly, a correct and faithful account of the unparalleled outrages at the late election in that Territory. It is a document of the utmost historical importance, and deserves to find a place, unabridged, in the columns of every journal in the free States. 'How any body can read it,' says the Sabbath Recorder, 'and not feel his blood boil, we cannot tell.' Yet how apathetic is the North on this subject !

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Con-

The memorial of the subscribers, citizens and residents of the Territory of Kansas, respectfully

represents:
That a state of things exists in said Territory unparalleled, as we believe, in the history of our country, and which it becomes our solemn duty to lay before you, and through you before our fellow-citizens of the United States. Under the guaranties of your law for the organization of this Territory, and in consideration of the privileges which that law held out to us, we left our former homes, met the privations of an uninhabited country, and

prepared for adding another republic to our Union.
The right of civil and religious liberty—the right of suffrage and self-government—were set up as the beacon lights which beckoned us on. As camp of these invaders, speeches were made to

One of the States of our Union, strong in wealth, population and resources relying upon her ac-cumulated strength of almost half a century, and taking advantage of our feeble infancy as a people, has invaded our soil, seized upon our rights, sub-jugated our territory and selected for us our rulers. jugated our territory and selected for us our rulers, intending also to dictate our laws, and make us the slaves of their will. This may well seem an almost incredible thing, in the Nineteenth Century, and in this Republican Union—the peculiar and boasted land of liberty and self-government—but the evidence of it is as palpable and undeniable as the fact is bitter and mortifying to us, and disgrace-ful to the Republic.

of to the Republic.

This invasion of our soil and usurpation of our

and passing several important polls, they numbered not less than twelve hundred men, and one campalone contained not less than six hundred.

They arrived at their several destinations the night before the election, and having pitched their camps and placed their sentries waited for the coming day. Baggage-wagons were there with arms and ammunition enough for a protracted fight, and among them two brass field-pieces ready charged. They came with drums beating and flags flying, and their leaders were of the most prominent and conspicuous men of their respective States. In the morning they surrounded the polls armed with guns, howie-knives and revolvers, and declared their determination to vote at all hazards, and ispite of all consequences.

If the Judges could be made to subserve their purposes and receive their votes, and if no obstacle was cast in their way, the leaders exerted themselves to preserve peace and order in the conduct of the election, but at the same time did not hesitate to declare that if not allowed to vote, they would proceed to any extremity in the destruction of property and life. If control of the polls could not be had otherwise, the Judges were by intimidation, and if necessary by violence, prevented from performing their duty; or, if unyielding in this respect, were driven from their post and the vacancy filled, in form, by the persons on the ground; and of the election, but at the same time did not hesitate to declare that if not allowed to vote, they would proceed to any extremity in the destruction of property and life. If control of the polls could not be had otherwise, the Judges were by intimidation, and if necessary by violence, prevented from performing their duty; or, if unyielding in this respect, were driven from their post and the vacancy filled, in form, by the persons on the ground; and whenever by any means they had obtained the control of the Beard, the foreign vote was promiseuously poured in without discrimination or reserve, or the slightest care to conceal its nefarious illegality.

At one of these polls, two of the Judges having manfully stood up in the face of this armed mob, and declared they would do their duty, one portion of the mob commenced to tear down the house, another proceeded to break in the door of the Judges' room, while others, with drawn knives, posted themselves at the window, with the proclaimed purpose of killing any voter who would

allow himself to be sworn. Voters were dragged from the window because they would not show their tickets or vote at the dictation of the mob, and the invaders declared openly at the polls that they would cut the throats of the Judges if they did not receive their votes without requiring an

oath as to their residence.

The room was finally forced, and the Judges surrounded by an armed and excited crowd were offered the alternatives of resignation or death, and five minutes were allowed for their decision. The bal-lot-box was seized, and amid shouts of 'Hurrah for Missouri,' was carried into the mob. The two menaced Judges then left the ground, together with all the resident citizens except a few who acted in

all the resident citizens except a few who acted in the outrage, because the result expected from it conformed to their views, and because it enabled the few to rule the many. When an excess of the foreign force was found to be had at one poll, detachments were sent to others where it was supposed they might be needed.

At the polls adjoining the one above alluded to, one of the Judges, a minister of the Gospel, who refused to accede to the demands of a similar mob of some four hundred armed and organized men, was driven by violence from his post, and the vacancy 'filled by themselves. Threats and violent demonstrations were rife, and another clergyman, for the expression of his opinion, was assaulted and beaten. The inhabitants of the district, powerless to resist the abundant supply of arms powerless to resist the abundant supply of arms and ammunition, the organized preparation and the overwhelming numbers of these foreigners, left

as the beacon lights which beckoned us on. As freemen we were united, as freemen we came, and as freemen we expected to live. But we address you now as an outraged and subjugated people, disfranchised and enslaved, stripped of our dearest rights, and governed by a set of masters foreign to our soil, and responsible only to their own lawless will.

In the Lawrence District, where was the largest camp of these invaders, speeches were made to them, by leading residents of Missouri, in which it may be a said that they would carry their purposes, if need be, at the point of the bayonet and the bowiering the point of the said that they would carry their purposes, if now the clection ground. Finding they had a greater force than was necessary for that poll, some two hardesd men were drafted from their number. two hundred men were drafted from their number, and sent off under their proper officers to another district, after which they still polled from this camp over seven hundred votes.

In the Fourth and Seventh Districts, along the Santa Fe road, similar scenes were enacted. The

invaders came together, in one armed and organized body, with trains of fifty wagons, besides horsemen, and the night before election pitched their camp in the vicinity of the polls, and having appointed their own Judges in place of those who, from intimidation or otherwise, failed to attend they rated without any proof, of residence. This invasion of our soil and usurpation of our rights commenced at the first moment of calling those rights into action. The first ballot-box that was opened upon our virgin soil was closed to us by overpowering numbers and impending force. It became, not what Americans have been proud to designate it, the exponent of the people's will, but was converted into the sword of the oppressor to strike at civil liberty. So bold and reckless were our invaders, that they cared not to conceal their attack.

shows one hundred voters, there were polled three hundred and fourteen votes, and last fall, seven hundred and sixty-five votes, although a large portion of the actual residents did not vote upon either occasion. In the Sixteenth Election District, hundreds of men came together as in other cases, cleation and encamping together, armed and provisioned, made the fiercest threats against the lives of the Judges, and during the night called several times at the house of one of them for the purpose of intimidating him, declaring, in the presence of shows one hundred voters, there were polled three our invaders, that they eared not to conceal their attack.

They came upon us, not in the guise of voters to steal away our franchise, but boldly and openly to snatch it with a strong hand. They came directly from their own homes, and in compact and organized bands, with arms in their hands and provisions for the expedition, marched to our polls, and when their work was done returned whence they came. It is unnecessary to enter into the details; it is enough to say that in three districts in which, by the most irrefragible evidence, there were not one hundred and fifty voters, most of whom refused to participate in this mockery of the elective franchise, these invaders polled over a thousand votes.

Loving our country and its institutions, we were willing, if this was to be only a solitary instance, to suffer it in silence rather than to proclaim to the world that even in this remote spot of our great country, civil liberty was but a name.

Of the Judges, and during the night called several times at the house of one of them for the purpose of intimidating him, declaring, in the presence of his wife, that a rope had been prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepared to hang times at the house of one of them for the purpose of intimidating him, declaring, in the presence of his wife, that a rope had been prepared to hang times at the house of one of them for the purpose of intimidating him, declaring, in the presence of his wife, that a rope had been prepared to hang times at the house of one of them for the purpose of intimidating him, declaring, in the presence of his wife, that a rope had been prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepared to hang times at the house of one of them for the purpose of his wife, that a rope had been prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepared to hang him; and although we willing, if this was to be only a solitary instance, to suffer it in silence rather than to proclaim to the world that even in this remote spot of our great country, civil liberty was but a name. Bitter and mournful experience has taught us, however, that this was no isolated act—no temporary obullition—but the commonement of a well-matured and settled plan by a large portion of the people of one of the States of our Union permanently to enslave us, and constitute themselves our masters.

On the 30th day of March last, we were again invited to the ballot-box, under the law which we, in common with our fellow-citizens of the States of the

of the States of our Union permanently to enslave us, and constitute themselves our masters.

On the 30th day of March last, we were again invited to the ballot-box, under the law which we, in common with our fellow-citizens of the States, had through your body enacted. Our vigilant and faithful Chief Magistrate had surrounded it with all the guards and precautions with which his authority invested him, and we were prepared to excreise the dearest and most cherished privileges of American citizens with a full sense of the vital and interesting importance of this peculiar occasion.

The occasion came, and with it came our invading and self-constituted masters in thousands, and with all the paraphernalia of war. They came, organized in bands, with officers, and arms, and tents, and provisions, and munitions of war, as though they were marching upon a foreign foe instead of their own unoffending follow-citizens, and passing several important polls, they numbered not less than twelve hundred men, and one camp alone contained not less than six hundred.

They arrived at their several destinations the resident voters. We might tendent of the states of the states, which the words 'by lawful resident voters.'

We might continue the list of these sickening details until the blood of every freeman would boil with indignation, but it is useless. One more instance alone we will refer to. In the Eighteenth election District, where the list of these sickening details until the blood of every freeman would boil with indignation, but it is useless. One more instance alone we will refer to. In the Eighteenth election District, where the list of these sickening details until the blood of every freeman would bein with indignation, but it is useless. One more instance alone we will refer to. In the Eighteenth election District, where the list of these sickening details until the blood of every freeman would bein with it came presented the states. One more instance alone we will refer to. In the Eighteenth election better.

We might

thus cast by the citizens and residents of the States, and that a very large portion of the residents were deterred and discouraged from going to the polls. If this condition of things be allowed to prevail, we are reduced to the state of a vassal province, and are governed by the State of Missouri.

It would be mere affectation in us to attempt to disguise the fact, that the question of making Kansas a free or slave State is at the bottom of this movement, and that the men who thus invade our soil and rob us of our liberties are from the proslavery men of Missouri, who are unwilling to submit the question to the people of the Territory, and abide the compact between the North and South, which the Kansas Nebrasks bill contains.

The compact we want carried out, and by that test we want the question settled if it can be; but there are few things that we would not prefer to the domination of irresponsible invaders from Missouri. That enactment is not only a law which States and individuals are bound to obey, but it is a compact between the North and the South—a solemn covenant between the Sovereign States of our Union, which none can violate without becoming recreant to the principles of honor and justice—without the betrayal of confidence reposed—without the betrayal of confidence reposed for th

for them—serfdom for us. The doctrine of salfgovernment is to be trampled under foot here, of
all other places in the world, on the very spot
which had been hallowed and consecrated to its
most signal vindication. The altars which had
been reared to it on this chosen ground, and around
which at least the democracy of the whole Union
had sworn allegiance, and to which we had come
as pilgrim worshippers in the wilderness, are to be
ruthlessly demolished. The compact is to be basely broken, and the ballot of the freeman (in effect)
torn from our hands almost before the ink of the
covenant is dry. Not only, too, is the principle of
popular sovereignty to be blotted out, but, more
than this, even the object of the contest is to
disappear. The question of negro slavery is to

than this, even the object of the contest is to disappear. The question of negro slavery is to sink into insignificance, and the great portentous issue is to loom up in its stead, whether or not we shall be the slaves, and fanatics who disgrace the honorable and chivalric men of the South shall be our masters, to rule us at their pleasure.

With a feeble and scattered community, just struggling into existence, without organization and almost without shelter, we are powerless to resist an old, strong, and populous State, full of men and arms and resources, and we therefore appeal to you, and through you to the people of the States. Remedy here we have none.

you, and through you to the people of the States. Remedy here we have none.

Our Executive has, with manly determination and persistent fidelity, stood by his people, and endeavored to carry out the principles of popular sovereignty, and secure us the privilege of managing our own affairs and governing ourselves, until his reputation has been assailed and his life openly threatened with a bitterness almost unparalleled; and, although as chief magistrate he is all we could desire, and has fearlessly pursued the path could desire, and has fearlessly pursued the path of duty amid a storm of menace and detraction un-der which many men would have quailed, yet he

is powerless-like ourselves.

We make now this hast appeal, not to the North, not to the South, not to any political party; but to the Representatives of the whole Union. We to the Representatives of the Whole Union. We beg that no man will sport with our condition by endeavoring to make political capital, or build up party at the expense of our civil and political existence. We want the men of the North and the men of the South to protect us. Through yourselves, their Representatives, we appeal to their honor—to their justice—to their patriotism—to their sympathies, not for favors, but for rights their sympathies, not for lavors, out for rights— not for trivial rights, but for the dearest rights guaranteed to us by the Declaration of Indepen-dence—by the Constitution of the Union—by the law of our organization—by the selema compact of the States, and which you pledged to us as the condition of our coming here.

Communities are not to blame for the conduct of

communities are not to blade for the conduct of their fanatics, unless they sanction them. We cannot believe that the States of the South will sanction the outrages that have been perpetrated upon us, or will allow them to be continued. And although we might reason the matter as a question though we might reason the matter as a que of policy, and show that it is contrary to the laws of nature and society, and opposed to all human experience that good can come from such evil; although we might prove that it is 'sowing the wind, and reaping the whirtwind,' and that the reaction will be fearful, yet we feel that this is unnecessary; that it is enough to appeal to their honor and their sense of justice, and to rely upon their nighted faith.

their plighted faith.
Inside our bounds, we shall have no serious troubles. Northern and Southern men mingle together in harmony and good feeling, and in mutual dependence and assistance in the hardships and privations of a pioneer life. As we learn to un-derstand each other, friendships are engendered and prejudices melt away, so that we shall be able to meet all questions that may arise in a spirit of justice and friendly feeling, which will secure the rights of all, and cheerful acquiescence in the de-cision of the majority. From foreign expression. cision of the majority. From foreign oppression, however, we ask for relief of that power which passed the Kansas bill, and pledged to us its benefits if we would come here. We have a right to ask and do ask its enforcement. It remains for your honorable bodies to decide whether you will here, the converte between you and us which exists keep the compact between you and us which exists by that bill and our emigration; whether you will vindicate the sacred doctrines of the Government, or whether you will leave us in a state of vassalage and oppression. We cannot and do not doubt that you will in some way give us justice and protec-tion.

### LETTER PROM MR. PARK. PARKVILLE, Mo., April 23d, 1855.

TO THE PUBLIC: When our printing-office was destroyed, I was absent in Kansas Territory, and returned forthwith on receiving information of it. I am filled with the deepest concern for the events that have transpired deepest concern for the events that have transpired and the passions that bear sway—premeditated as they have been by a large and powerful secret association. I am happy to know that the citizens of Parkville and vicinity took no part in it; and why my life and property should be destroyed by any portion of this community, I cannot tell. The charge of abolitionism is false: I have never harbored a thought nor meditated an action detrimental to the honor, the intereste, or institutions of Missouri; but have labored unceasingly to promote her prosperity. It is true, I have not believed the honor and interests of Missouri to be in that course of policy marked out by some politicians. Duty has compelled me to cross their path, which has brought on my devoted head the bitterest persecution.

No Union with Slaveholders,

BOSTON, JUNE 1, 1855.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CON-

VENTION.

This body convened on Tuesday morning last, at th

Melodeon, and was organized by the choice of the fol-

President-WENDELL PHILLIPS.

FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston; EDMUND QUINCY, of

MIN HUTCHINSON, of New Hampshire: SAMUEL J

MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y.; JOSEPH MOORE, of Pennsyl-

Secretaries-Samuel May, Jr., of Boston; Wm. P.

ATKINSON, of Boston : AARON M. POWELL, of Ghent.

Thomas Whitson, Henry C. Wright, Oliver Johnson.

Finance Committee-Lewis Ford, of Abington; Jas

mouth ; Sallie Holley, of Rochester, N. Y.; Elbridge

The Business Committee introduced several resolu-

Whereas, whatever may be the principles or the mea

sures of this Convention, it has a right to be reported

fairly by the press, without caricature or misrepresent-

newspapers generally in this city, notwithstanding ev-

ery courtesy has been shown to their reporters on ou

Whereas, this scandalous outrage upon all that i

falsehood-has been too long permitted to pass unre-

has been fully attended, and the debates spirited and

Garrison, S. S. and A. K. Foster, Henry C. Wright,

Charles L. Remond, Rev. S. J. May, C. C. Burleigh,

The official report of the proceedings will be publish

WILL KANSAS BE A FREE STATE?

tands. Its fate is settled. We shall briefly state som

We answer-No. Not while the existing Union

1. The South is united in the determination to make

Kansas a slave State-ultimately, by division, half a

pressed; and she has too much at stake to allow free

speech, a free press, and free labor, to hold the mastery

2. Eastern emigration will avail nothing to keep sla-

very out of Kansas. Though we have hitherto been careful to say nothing to discourage it, we have never

dation of the dark waters of oppression. Hardly a sin-

igrants are in favor of making Kansas a free State as a

matter of sound policy, and would do so if they were

not under the dominion of Missouri ruffianism, or if

general government in this terrible crisis; but they

have not gone to Kansas to be martyrs in the cause

fend the rights of the enslaved? To place any reliand

3. The omnipotent power of the general government

4. On the subject of slavery, there is no principle is

These are some of the reasons why we believe Kans

hope, and see no ray of light, in that quarter.

in that vast Territory.

buked ; therefore,

Sprague, of Abington; Reuben C. Ober, of Reading.

Vice Presidents-CHARLES L. REMOND, of Salem

lish and improve, and many interests interwoven

lish and improve, and many interests interwoven with the growth and prosperity of the country, and flee for no offence like a base culprit—I cannot! I would rather prefer death at my own home, amid the flowers and trees planted and consecrated by affection, and upon the soil of the country I have toiled to build up!

Our press has been thrown into the Missouri river. I may be buried there too. An humble individual is in the power of hundreds of armed men; but his death will not destroy the freedom of the Americas Press! Independence of thought and action is inherent in the bosom of every freeman, and it will gush up like a perpetual fountain for ever! God has impressed on his universe the principles of truth and justice, and they must prevail.

prevail.

If there is no security in the land of Washington; if an American home affords no protection; if the time has arrived when this Union must be dissolved, and all its kindred ties and mighty interests broken and destroyed, and our land denched with fraternal blood; then let me be buried beneath the turbid waters of the Missouri, rather than live to behald such a scene! God save our than live to behold such a scene! God save of GEO. S. PARK.

MR. GEORGE S. PARK .- This gentleman, whose connection with the office of the Parkville Lumi-nary has given him some notoriety, called to see us The press upon which that paper was issued was destroyed by citizens of Platte coun and Mr. Park was notified to leave within a give time. Not wishing to incur the resentment of the people who had thus treated him, and who, he says, were not citizens of Parkville, he has left that section of the country, and will probably take up his residence, for the time, on a farm he owns in Il-

Mr. Park established the Luminary at Parkville without any very strong political affinities, but in a very little time he was pushed into the support aton and Bentonism, and this, we appreh may be regarded as the beginning of his troubles. In supporting Benton in his paper, the people were led to suspect that he was not ' sound on the goose question,' but his antecedents are all against this supposition. He is the owner of slaves—has grown Missouri, and acquired wealth, and we sh not suppose from his appearance and character that he would make himself obnoxious to any class of people. -St. Louis Intelligencer.

The Parkville Luminary newspaper office was mobbed and the press thrown into the Missouri river, because its editors had published the follow-ing moderate rebuke of the outrages committed in Kansas by citizens of Missouri. Read, and see how much abolitionism there is in it:

· We have occupied conservative and national ground, promptly opposing the measures and men who have brought on this crisis. Will the Presi-dent meet it? Surely he cannot longer follow counsels from Abolitionists and Nullifiers? The country demands that sound, firm, energetic men have the direction of public affairs, who will imas and enforce justice and law. There is virtually no law in Kansas, and no security for law and property, save in the sense of honor and just tice cherished by every true pioneer. This may save the country from the bloodshed, but the Gov-ernment is held up to ridicule and contempt, and its authority disregarded; judges of elections have been displaced and others appointed—the polls have in some instances been guarded with pistols and bowie knives—and some of those elected are going to the Governor swearing that if he does not give a certificate of election immediately, they will cut his throat from ear to ear. Is the flag of our country to be no longer a protection !-or are individuals or companies of men to declare we will and it must be so without regard to law? Is this what the authors of the Kansas-Nebraska bill meant by popular sovereignty?

## THE LATE HOMICIDE IN KANSAS.

A letter from Kansas, which we find in the Missouri Democrat, gives the following account of the recent killing of Malcolm Clark. It will be seen that it differs essentially from the statements con-cerning the same affair hitherto furnished by the nigger-driving journals of that quarter :

A squatter meeting was held at Leavenworth City to take into consideration the propriety of giving further time to claimants to come and live upon their claims. Mr. McCrea, a lawyer of that lace, opposed the extension of time. Mr. Clark replied to Mr. McCrea, and said that McCrea was a d—d raseal, anyway. McCrea west off and got a pistol. When he returned, a few more words passed, and Clark struck him: McCrea drew his pistol; Clark picked up a board; McGrearan, and Clark pursued him. In the chase, Clark dropped rd, when McCrea turned, and holding pistol within a foot of Clark's breast, fired, and shot him through the heart. The crowd, greatly incensed, rushed upon McCrea with sticks and stones, and began to beat him terribly—knocking out his front teeth. &c. He ran to the river, and jumped in, but it happened to be a miry spot, and he stuck up to his arms in mud. He was dragged vote was taken whether he should be the spot, or sent to Fort Leavenworth It was decided to send him to the Fort. He was placed in a carriage for that purpose. crowd by this time had greatly increased, and it was proposed to reconsider the vote, which was It was then, by a large majority, voted e should hang. A rope was immediately jumped into the carriage beside McCrea, drew a revolver upon the driver, and told him to drive to Fort Leavenworth as fast as possible, or he would blow his brains out; and said to the crowd, that f they hung McCrea, they would have to hang him

I have not yet been able to learn the name of this nan, but I hear he is from Virginia or Ken-No matter whence he came, he is a bold and generous fellow.

On the next day, viz., on the first day of this month-day before yesterday-the corpse of Clark was taken to Weston, Missouri, of which place he had been a citizen before his recent residence at Leavenworth City. The people there gathered over it and made violent speeches and passed strong resolutions, one of which was that they would proceed to Fort Leavenworth and take McCrea and hang Friday, the 4th inst., was fixed upon as the day of his execution. Of course, he will be pro-tected by the officers of the Fort.

Clark was about thirty-eight or forty years of age, very athletic, bold and self-confident. a strong pro-slavery man. McCrea is an Abolitionist. He was saved by a pro-slavery man.

## VIRGINIA CHIVALRY.

Mrs. Stowe Burnt in Effigy and her Sister Insult

—A Specimen of the Manliness of Virginian Col pecimen of the Manliness of Virginian Col-Within the past few days, the University of Virginia has been the scene of incidents hardly creditable to the chivalry of the Old Dominion. Miss Beecher, an able and accomplished lady, the sister of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and of Mrs Stowe, visited the vicinity of that institution. Her presence was soon known, and she was treated to a mock serenade, and Mrs. Stowe was burnt in effigy! How have the mighty fallen! George Washington I well remember to have read, addressed a negro poetess in terms of respect, as 'Miss Phillis,' and raised his hat to a negro man to whom he would not yield the palm of politeness. The present gen-eration of young men are far wiser and more chivalric. The authoress of the most affecting and truthlike story of the time is burned in effigy in Virginia, and her sister insulted, because she is her sister. Sic transit gloria mundi.

This 'chivalrous' demonstration has elicited a keenly satirical letter from Miss CATHERINE E. BEECH. an, which appears in the N. Y. Tribune.

### GOV. GARDNER-JUDGE LORING-THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

GOVERNOR GARDNER'S REFUSAL to remove Judge GOVERNOR CARDNER'S REFUSAL to remove Judge Loring astonished the majority of the Legislature, and disappointed a majority of the people of the State; but it rejoiced the 'Southern Know Nothings and National Whigs.' A letter from Washington says so. It says, also, that if Governor Gardner had removed Judge Loring, it would have greatly prejudiced the interests of the Know Nothing party in the Southern States—carnecially Vis.

said, convinced the people of Virginia, that Massachusetts Know Nothingism is not Anti-Slaveryism in disguise. The Virginians will, therefore, elect Mr. Flournoy to be the next Governor of that State. This is a somewhat singular view of the influence of Governor Gardner's veto. He has taken a porelation to the removal of Judge Loring. He has refused to listen to the address of the Legislature, refused to listen to the address of the Legislature, supported by the almost universal sentiment of the people; and yet this action, which detaches him from the confidence and support of his own fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, attaches him to the proslavery citizens of Virginia! Did Governor Gardner refuse to accede to the desire of Massachusetts, that he might obtain influence in the South! that he might obtain influence in the South !-There have been as unlikely things. He is a gen-tleman of great facility in turning, and, looking towards 1856 and the possibilities of the national ped his veto accordingly. lly certain, and that is, that Dedham; STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester; BENJA he has given comfort and encouragement to those men who wish to spread slavery over Kansas and Nebraska, and he has insulted the freemen of the community in which he lives.—Worcester Spy.

We repeat, ' the strong vote of both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature to remove Judge Loring for official incompetence, is a striking evidence of the strength of justice in the hearts of the people.' In the name of the offended sovereignty of of the offended sovereignty of Massachusetts, let him be removed. In the in a Judge of Probate a man having at least the N. Buffum, of Lynn; Nathaniel B. Speoner, of Plycommon measure of intelligence, and the common instincts of humanity, let him be removed. In the name of Humanity, which he has trampled under foot, let him be removed. In the name of the Judiciary, which he has brought into contempt, let him be removed. In the name of the Eternal Jus-Whereas, whatever may be the principle tice, outraged by his mockery of its sacred dignity, let him be removed. In the name of Him who will judge the poor and the needy, and will make inition for their blood, LET HIM BE REMOVED. The ation, so that all may form a true and intelligent opinquisition for their blood, LET HIM BE REMOVED. The veto of a vacillating Governor may defer awhile the stroke of justice, but it is sure to come. No man can live under the weight of odium that will hang upon the name of Edward G. Loring, wherever these facts shull be known.—N. Y. Independent.

Junce Louisa. The Senate of Massachusetts has concurred with the action of the House, in its platform; and vote removing Mr. Loring from his office of Probate Judgo. This is a most righteous act, and one in which all right-minded persons will rejoice. It rying course of low blackguardism and unblushing rises far above a mere question of personal hostility to Judge Loring. It is not the man, as an individ-ual, that Massachusetts has branded, but the man ual, that Massachusetts has branded, but the man us an official slave-catcher. The old Commonwealth has set her mark upon the brow of her unnatural son, who so far forgot the lessons of his Puritan mother, as to aid in the trun of a human being to the oppression from which he had fled. This act of Massachusetts is worthy the descendants of the Massachusetts in the Massachusetts in the Massachusetts is worthy the descendants of the Massachusetts is worthy the descendants of the Massachusetts in the Massachusetts is worthy the descendants of the Massachusetts in the M disgrace inflicted upon the State by the authorities of Boston, and the minions of the Federal power, in the extradition of Boston. The man who could aid in any way in such a transaction, is manifestly unfit to decide questions of right between man and man. His moral percentions are too obtains to and man. His moral perceptions are too obtuse to enable him to discern the right, or his conscience is too seared to induce him to regulate his official interesting. Among the speakers present, and partic-

onduct by the law of eternal rectitude.

This act is ominous. The brand of Cain is beng burned into the brows of the recreant Northrners, who level themselves to enforce the infamous fugitive act. They are marked men. The time is not remote when whosoever seeth them will shun them as they would a walking pestilence. Their touch will be esteemed more polluting than the touch of a leper. Let Marshal Robinson The J. C. Cluer, Theodore Parker, and A. T. Foss. and Commissioner Pendery make a note of this.—
Columbus, (Ohio) Free Press.

GOV. GARDNER AND THE CONSERVATIVE PRESS of the reasons which force us to this sad conclusion. The National Intelligencer and the Southern Whig and Know Nothing Press seem to have penetrated the character of Governor Gardner. Their praise the character of Covern Caroline and ability is most dozen slave States, if necessary. She has never yet extravagant. Daniel Webster himself hardly ever been foiled in her purpose thus concentrated and exextravagant. Daniel received more high-flown compliments. Nothing so manly, so loyal, so heroic, so grand, has been done since the time old John Adams defended, as counsel, the British soldiers. In fact, it is difficult to say who will hereafter be more honored by posterity, Governor Gardner or Judge Loring. This is precisely the kind of incense offered to Northern men, great enough to overcome their prejudices in favor of Liberty—incense which has had any faith in it as a breakwater against the inunurned the heads of many better men than these ned men of mark | gle abolitionist can be found among all who have emitwo worthies, who were never deer till they had done an act peculiarly acceptable to the Slave Interest.—Notional Era.

grants are in favor of making Kansas a free State as a

Gardner returned the Personal Liberty Bill to the they could rely upon the sympathy and aid of the Senate without his signature. We had no idea that Gardner would sign this bill. Such an act would have committed him to the anti-slavery party, and we do not believe that he ever had any idea of the enslaved negro, nor to sacrifice their chance for a of being so committed. It is true, he appeared at homestead on the altar of principle, but to find a coman anti-slavery meeting in Boston, with Senator Wilson and Hon. Anson Burlingame, but that appearance, like his celebrated letter, was only for the enti-slavery cause at home; they partook of the Buncombe. When he was called upon to act, in Buncombe. When he was called upon to act, in the case of Loring and in the present case, he took shelter behind the subterfuge of patriotism, and abolitionism; at least, they could only dream of marefused either to relieve the judiciary of Massachu- king 'freedom national, and slavery sectional,' after setts of a humiliating disgrace, or to throw around the manner of ' the fathers '; and they were poisoned the poor, colored citizen of this Commonwealth, more or less with the virus of colorphobia. If they the protection of habeas corpus and trial by jury.

Gardner has been urged, by the hunker presses, to yeto this bill, and he has done it. Southern Know them in the immediate presence of the demoniacal spirit Nothings have urged him to veto it, and thus in-fluence the Virginia election, and he has done it. the North on this subject-nothing more; and that is Legislature and people of Massachusetts de- still subservient to the will of the South. They dare sired him to approve it, and he has not done it. Is not defend their own rights; how then can they de-Governor Gardner less a Governor of Massachusetts than a subject of Virginia? The Senate, however, passed the bill over the voto by a vote of 32 to 3, upon their anti-slavery zeal or courage is to lean upon nd the House by a vote of 229 to 76, so that the a broken staff. We do not say this reproachfully, but bill is a law, Gov. Gardner to the contrary notwith- because it is the truth; and to show why we have no standing .- Worcester Spy.

Whatever may have been the short-comings of will cooperate with the Vandals of Missouri to 'crust the Legislature, four great and important measures were consummated, either of which would go far was and to suptain their lawless proceedings in that Tersas, and to sustain their lawless proceedings in that Ter to atone for a multitude of errors. The first was sas, and to sustain their lawless proceedings in to the election of Henry Wilson to the United States ritory. This will prove decisive in the struggle. Sonate, there to proclaim, in no uncertain or feeble manner, the sentiments of Massachusetts; the section Kansas papers ostensibly desirous of making it ond was the passage of the Liquor Law for the sup- free State. Here, for instance, is before us 'The Herression of a traffic that has caused more human alsery than all other causes combined; the third, the large and decided majority by which, after a spoken journal in Kansas, in regard to the rights of the for the removal of Judge Loring was carried through bona fide settlers. What does its editor say? Lisboth branches; and the last and crowning act, the passage, in spite of the Executive veto, of the Personal Liberty Bill, by which Massachusetts asserts her rights, and claims for her citizens the same panoply of protection guaranteed to their property, thus putting an end at once and forever to the enactment of similar scenes to those of last June. All honor to the Legislature of 1855, for its manly recognition of the rights of Massachusetts freemen!

'We are not what is known in the South as an 'Ab-olitionist,' but are in favor of the emancipation of the slave through the apprenticeship system, as was in Pennsylvania and most of the Northern States. The Hiss revelations were unfortunate for the credit of the Commonwealth, but the exposure of his acls indicated a right spirit in the minds of the members. Doubtloss the House, as the New York stribune remarks, 'so far as personal character is concerned, is as honest and respectable a body as ever sat in Massachusetts.' Upon questions involving moral elements, their action was uniformly high-toned and courageous. The anti-slavery elements is as rank pro-slavery reading as any thing high-toned and courageous. The anti-slavery element has been predominant in both branches, as to be found in the Richmond Examiner or the Charles indicated in the action upon Judge Loring and the ton Mercury. To show its folly, its wickedness, its in Personal Liberty Bill. Even Boston sent fifteen or sanity, has been the one great effort of the abolitionist twenty anti-slavery men in her delegation of fortyfor the last quarter of a century. It surrenders the

representatives. whole ground to the enemies of impartial liberty, and This legislature has represented the country interests as distinguished from the metropolitan. makes the present enslavement of those in bonda. The anti-Boston feeling, which has been growing a meritorious act—for 'immediate and uncondition makes the present enslavement of those in bondage emancipation would be destructive to the best interest up for some years past, seems to have been all-powerful in this body. The country members were superior to the Boston delegation in experience, ability, and character. Only one of the Bosto-nians had ever been in the House before, and inof all concerned ' ! ! And this is the paper which has made, and is making, its appeals to the anti-slaver men and women of Massachusetts to swell its subscrip stead of the men of great weight and influence tion list, as true to the cause of freedom! And the usually sent from that city, there were such 'lewd have done so. When such is the compromising spirit of the organ of the Free State party, what rational home fellows of the baser sort, as Hiss, and such no-bodies as Pierce. The result has been, that coun-try influence has prevailed without let or bindrance. is left to believe that the defiant and desperate spirit of ring party in the Southern States—especially Virinia. The Governor's refusal, however, has put the cities, and so odius in the roral neighborhoods, verything into right shape again. He has, it is

Since the adoption of the Constitution of Massachu democratic, in the matter of popular representation.— State government named thein, in the imprisonment or in the absence of professional and scholastic exclusive-rendition of any person claimed as a fugitive slave. setts, there has never been a Legislature so thoroughly ness-in the presence of a fair proportion of mechan- This Bill is entitled 'An Act to Protect the Rights ics, farmers, and the laboring population generally—as the one which has just adjourned. The aristocratic element was completely exorcised out of it; the spirit there are thousands of colored citizens in this State, ly of THE PEOPLE, without pretence, unsophisticated, their fire-sides made desolate, by prowling bloodhounds inexperienced in regard to the forms of legislation, but from the South—nay, more, that all complexional disembodying an unusual amount of moral worth and tinctions have long since ceased among the slave popuhonesty of purpose, controlled by the progressive spirit lation, and therefore the peril of seizure is universalof the age, self-guided to the prostration of all ambi-tious leadership, and indicating no lack of speaking or that the Bill is too stringent in its provisions, or too body, its regard for the cause of human freedom, as is concerned. Let him suppose the case his own, as he against the aggressions of the Slave Power, was clearly is morally bound to do -or that of his father, or moth-paramount to all other considerations. It turned a deaf ear to all the evil prognostications of Hunkerism, the property of another, to be a life-long slave, with trampled in the dust the temptations of pro-slavery no more freedom of mind or action than a dumb beast, Nationalism, foiled alike the wealth and the craft of and then say whether the liberty of the citizen is too committed to its hands, with reference to foreign emi- gislature. grants to these shores.

al party, we have no doubt will be as servile to the behests of the Slave Power as ever the Democratic party has been-and even more malignant, if possible,

y has been—and even more malignant, if possible.

The manner in which the Legislature was assailed,

Gardner to veto the action of the Legislature; again he from the first to the last day of its proceedings, without responded to their appeal; and again they made the mitigation or cessation, by the Whig journals of Boston welkin ring with their shouts of exultation. in particular, and of the Commonwealth in general, ment ; which regarded a favored few as the Heaven- liberties. appointed rulers of the many; which saw in John Hancock a vile traitor, and in Gov. Hutchinson a paragon of loyalty to duty; which perversely cried up 'law and order,' and cried down freedom of speech and the right to protest against parliamentary oppression; which taught, with mock religious zeal and devotion, that 'the powers that be are ordained of God,' even the powers of King George the Third, and his prime minister Lord North-to resist which was to incur the perils of damnation ; which opposed every effort to remove old abuses, monstrous usurpations, insupportable burdens unjustly imposed upon the body politic; which branded reform as fanaticism, opposition to tyrannical laws as treason, free inquiry as infidelity, and nonconformity as wicked insubordination; which saw nothing stable except in depotism, nothing praiseworthy except in unquestioning obedience, nothing virtuous except in the past, nothing desirable except intellectual, moral and religious stagnation ;-a spirit akin to that which stoned the prophets, which crucified Jesus as one having a devil, which persecuted unto death the apostles as 'pestilent and seditious fellows, the filth of the earth, and the offscouring of all things'; and which in all ages has been at war with every new movement to put down established wrong, and to build up down-

trodden right.

nsest kind; not because of its 'Know Nothing' complexion, but on account of its overmastering love of He was largely engaged in the lumber business, and raised no crops except what were necessary for the support of the twenty-nine full grown slaves and the number of the twenty-nine full grown slaves and the number of the twenty-nine full grown slaves and the number got out by his slaves was rafted down the Edisto river. In public peace, prosperity, happiness and virtue, in the public peace, prosperity, happiness and virtue, in the passage of the Maine Law—and especially, because it was so largely composed of men in the ordinary walks was so largely composed of men in the ordinary walks of life, unsophisticated farmers, industrious mechanics, hard-handed artizans, who are regarded by these mouthpieces of a soulless aristocracy as fit only to be ruled by 'gentlemen of eminent gravity' and men 'of property and standing,' but never to manage the affairs of the Commonwealth. It is the Toryism of 1775 in the guise of Conservatism—contempt for the masses, and a selfish regard for class legislation. Consult the files of the Advertiser, the Courier, the Post, the Journal and the Traveller, (to say nothing of the Herald, Mail, and Times, because too low to challenge criticism,)—for no city in the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press than Boston—and see how covariant the land is cursed with a more hunkerish, mean, cowardly, depraved and hypocritical press that the land is cursed with a more hunkerish. press than Boston,—and see how constantly the action of the Legislature has been jeered at, ridiculed, misrepresented, caricatured, annthematized, to the total disregard of all that belongs to fairness, decency, and honorable dealing a concerned for the same of the same Mr. Willis, feeling concerned for the future welfare of his children, and urged thereto by Amy, at last determined to free her, her mother, her six children, her brother and her sister. When he came to Cincinnati, mitigated scoundrelism. The conductors of the papers one year ago, and had his will written, it was to carry out this intent. alluded to habitually reveal themselves as without

ways agreed in resisting human advancement, the overthrow of long-established wrong, unpopular trut, the
claims of outraged humanity. They are morally incapable of uttering an independent thought or a noble
sentiment. In short—THEY ARE TORIES.

In consequence of the illegal, precipitate and merciless conduct of Judge Loring in the case of Anthony
Burns,—a Probate Judge eager to play the part of a
two-legged bloodhound as Slave Commissioner under
a Congressional enactment truly described as infernal,
—the Legislature, by an overwhelming vote in both
houses, in accordance with the humane, moral and religious feelings of the people of Massachusetts, without distinction of party, too powerfully expressed to be
safely disregarded, requested his removal from office at
the hands of the Executive. While his case was pending, every effort was matle by the journals we have designated to intimidate and brow-beat the Senate and
the House, and to shield that infamous Judge of Pro.

Having secured for them a residence, return to close up
the business and bring the others.
On last Tuesday week, they left home as thus proposed. On reaching Louisville, they got on board the
steamer Jacob Strader, and reached here at 6 o'clock
yesterday morning. Soon after the boat touched the
wharf, Mr. Willis and his company went on shore, and
he called a carriage, when, just as he went to reach
one of the small children into it, he breathed heavily.
Amy asked him if he had another attack of palpitation
of the heart. He nodded affirmatively, gave two or
three heavy breathings, and then fell dead.
Just at this moment, some one asked where they
came from. Amy? mother did not nawer, and was
threatened with being kicked into the river. Some one
urged Amy to go on board the
boat and nother attack of palpitation
of the heart. He nodded affirmatively, gave two or
three heavy breathings, and then fell dead.
Just at this moment, some one asked where they
came from. Amy? mother did not nawer, and was
thereatened with being kicked into the the lost ! Still, there was the Executive to take final ac- The executors of the will are all residents of this city. tion upon the subject; and so they used every artifice to induce Gov. Gardner to keep the slave-catcher in his THE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTS OF THE PROGRESSIVE men-stealers and cradle-plunderers !

pannelled as a jury. To baffle this unconstitutional Commonwealth all those safeguards against being kid- basis. napped which they are entitled to, the Legislature Connection. In the last report of the Treasurer it goes ; not forbidding the slave-hunter to seize and rington, of Upton-

have done, but only forbidding cooperation and assistance on the part of the officers and members of the of cottonocracy was powerless in it; it was emphatical- who are daily liable to have their houses invaded, and working talent. Though nominally a 'Know Nothing' exacting in its requirements, so far as penal legislation

State street, and used with great moderation the power carefully guarded by the recent enactment of the Le-The Personal Liberty Bill was passed by both This is simple historical justice, aside from all con- branches of the Legislature with great unanimity. siderations of the 'Know Nothing' movement general- Immediately there arose from the pro-slavery journals ly, against which we have earnestly protested from the of Boston a terrible outcry of 'Nullification!' 'Treabeginning, and which, organized into one great nation- son!' &c. &c.—in which all the Southern newspapers

But the cause of freedom is stronger than the purhas revealed a wide-spread Toryism, identical in spirit chased presses of the city and country, and will go on, and purpose with that which sought to crush the Revo- 'conquering and to conquer.' Boston no longer rules lutionary struggle for American independence; which the Commonwealth with a rod of iron. The people of ridiculed and denounced such plain men as Sam Ad- Massachusetts have made up their minds to have no ams, John Adams and Paul Revere, and maintained more slave hunts in their borders; and they will not that the people were too vulgar and too ignorant to only cordially endorse, but firmly sustain the action of take upon themselves the responsibilities of govern- the Legislature for the protection of 'their rights and

### THE SLAVES OF MR. WILLIS.

We copy from the Cincinnati Columbian the followng account of the circumstances attendant upon the death of Mr. Elijah Willis, a wealthy citizen of South Carolina, who died suddenly in Cincinnati, a few days since, after bequeathing by his will freedom to ten of his slaves, and leaving all his property, to the value of \$150,000, to be divided among seven of them :

On the 23d of February, 1854, a fine-looking, cor-On the 23d of February, 1854, a fine-looking, corpulent gentleman, apparently about sixty years of age, came to this city in search of Dr. Brisbane, from whom he wished advice as to the proper course to pursue to effectuate the manumission of a number of his slaves. Not readily finding Dr. Brisbane, he obtained the advice of John Joliffe, Esq., and had duplicate wills drawn up. One of these he took with him, and the other he deposited with Mr. Joliffe, to be used if he should die suddenly, and the will in his possession be accidentally or purposely destroyed. He stated that accidentally or purposely destroyed. He stated that one of his brothers had died very suddenly, and that he himself, being subject to palpitation of the heart, was liable to be also summoned to another world at a ioment's notice. Elijah Willis—that was his name—stayed only a few

lays in Cincinnati, but his bright, benevolent counte-nance and manly frankness were not soon forgotten by those whom circumstances had thrown into contact with

Returning home, he drew up a complete inventory of The malignity of the Boston press, with scarcely an exception, towards the Legislature, has been of the inmaking them pledge themselves not to make it public previously.

He was largely engaged in the lumber business, and

After his return home, he arranged all his busines

alluded to habitually reveal themselves as without principle or self-respect, traitors to the cause of liberty, more dangerous to the Commonwealth than all the pickpockets and burglars therein. They systematically and designedly poison the life-blood of the community. There is not a particle of manhood among them all. They are the eycophants of Mammon—the spaniels of Cottonocracy—the servile tools of the Slave Power. In whatever else they may differ, they are always agreed in resisting human advancement, the overthrow of long-established wrong, unpouler trait, the

be signated to intimidate and brow-beat the Senate and the House, and to shield that infamous Judge of Probate from all condemnation, by a pretended concern for the purity and independence of the Judiciary! But in vain did they rave and foam at the mouth:—the Legislature was composed of men who could neither be bribded nor overawed, and it proceeded to the performance of its high duty without fear or favor. Then came a fresh howl from those journals, as from the regions of the lost! Still, there was the Executive to take final active.

The executors the long called in, held an inquest, when a verdict was returned in accordance with these facts.

Mr. Ball, of the legal firm of Chase & Ball, being called in, the will of Mr. Willis, found on him, was opened and read, when it was found that he had willed his whole estate to Amy and her children, and had appointed John Joliffe, A. H. Ernst and Edward Harwood as executors. This will is a duplicate of that left in the care of Mr. Joliffe, which has not yet been opened. If the property is obtained, each of these colored children will have a fortune of twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars. The body of Mr. Willis will be buried to-day.

polluted office, and to override the unmistakable de- FRIENDS. We have cheerfully complied with the remand of the people. To his shame and lasting infamy, quest of our friend Thomas McClintock, of Waterloo, he yielded to their mingled clamor and flattery; and (N. Y.,)—a highly-esteemed preacher among the Conthen, what shouts of exultation they raised, joined in gregational or Progressive Friends-in publishing, or by the harmonious yells of the whole body of Southern our last page, the discussion respecting the Principles and Objects of that Society between himself and the By the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the South- editor of the Peterboro' Christian and Cilizen; first, man-hunter was allowed to enter our State, and because he does not appear to have been allowed a fai to lay his piratical hands upon any man, woman or hearing by the latter; secondly, because the subject is child, no matter of what complexion, as his fugitive one of vital importance to the progress of reform ; and slave, and to carry his victim off without a jury trial, on interested and ex-parte evidence brought from the South, at the nod of a petty Commissioner, when a carnest seeker after truth who shall commence its pe stray horse could not be recovered without 'due process of law,' and a verdict rendered by twelve men im. pantly brought against the new movement, by the Christian and Citizen, are most critically examined enactment, and to throw around the citizens of this and most ably refuted, in the best spirit, and on a solid

passed a Personal Liberty Bill, in entire accordance the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, the name of with the principles of justice and humanity, as far as Wm. B. Huntington should have been Wm. B. Har-

remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should remove his prey, and the circumstances have been considered as a constant of the circumstances. ERAL ASSEMBLY. The General Assembly of a Presbyterian Charol is

now met in St. Louis. The principal interest repre now met in St. Louis and compose it. They be very polite Doctors. They eschew all perso Their grand theme is religion; yet, if any good should Their grand theme is the cause of truth, to humanity, to to good morals, they would greatly rejoice. The Pacife to good morate, the Pacific Railroad Company invited them to take a ride lat 8st. urday over their road to Washington, some thirsig miles. This ride was 'free, -gratis, -in welco for nothing, -without costing a cent.' So they defer red the business of the Lord, and went in for the fiving How they demeaned themselves at the depot, on the now they demeaned the large of the acpot, the the cars, or at Washington, I have not learned; nor whether they danced or said their prayers; and, so far at he manity is concerned, it makes but precious littled in ence; for the spiritual salt of all such bodies has lan since lost its savor, and is only fit to be cast out and since lost its sector, and should the Assembly the any signs of life, or even kick, I will let you know it. St. Louis, May 22, 1855.

Sr. Louis, (Mo.) May 25, 1855. Give me a Doctor of Divinity for true courage: In will gladly risk going to hell in the next world, for the sake of his broad and butter in this. As proof, I see you the proceedings of those Doctors of the above lessembly, now in session in St. Louis. If such singerty not damned, who is in danger? The following unn the proceedings on Tuesday, the 22d May, 1855; A communication was read from Rev. R. L. Storm. D.D., delegate from the General Association of the Control of t

York, bearing the salutations of that body, and caning a resolution of the Association, respecting the site of the Association, respecting the site of the Association, as follows: Whereas, The silence of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, N. S., at its last sees

grade movement, calculated to excite alarm is the of the friends of humanity and religion; therefore of the friends of humanity and religion; therefore,
Resolved, That our delegate to that body be instruced to express our apprehension on this subject, and is,
assure them that we hold in abhorrence all such imtion; and that in continuing our correspondence with
ecclesiastical bodies having churches in slatchding.

Etates, we do it rather to bear our continued and exnest testimony against the sin of slaveholding, than is
express the least acquisecence in so great a wickdom.

Par Mr. Sneed thought the Assembly source.

Rev. Mr. Sneed thought the Assembly would count its self-respect by passing over this resolu notice.

Dr. McLane stated that while a delegate to this law.

ciation, some years ago, an attempt was made to has such a resolution, but at his instance, it was omitted.

Now it has come. He thought it couched in terrind. corous language, and was so hostile to every principle of courtesy and correspondence, that we should not put silence. Rev. Mr. Spencer moved its reference to a special committee. This was withdrawn after brief complex.

Rev. C. C. Parker appeared in behalf of the General Convention of Vermont, very cordially expressing the fellowship and unity which subsist between the two bodies, in doctrinal opinions and long interchange the churches of Vermont on slavery and in Rev. Z. M. Humphrey appeared in behalf of the Prebyterian and Congregational Convention of Wiscons.
He entered into some details of the churches he reposented; and expressed their sentiments on the sabist

of slavery and intemperance.

The correspondence being finished, Rev. Mr. Pikia offered the following resolution:

Inasmuch as the General Association of New York bar Inasmuch as the General Association of New Yorking most discourteously taken upon itself to review helpilative action of the General Assembly of the Fredgarian Church over its own churches, and also, in most agentlemanly and abusive language, has declared intention, in future correspondence, to pursue the man unchristian course; therefore,

Resolved, That the stated Clerk be directed to min the communication of the General Association of Ner York to that body, with the intimation that we demonstrate the correspondence with them.

no farther correspondence with them.

Rev. Dr. Campbell moved a substitute for the alon,

as follows:
Whereas, The General Association of New York, st

whereas, The General Association of New Yerk, as their last meeting, held in Madrid, declared, by a resolution sent to this General Assembly, and presentelly delegate, that the only reason of their continuing anerspondence with this body is that they may bear the testimony against slaveholding; therefore,

Resolved, That our delegate to that body be instructed to meet the the Association that this General Association which the General Association which the General Association which is the General Association which the General Association which we will be a supplied to the continuity of the General Association which we will be a supplied to the continuity of the

ed to say to that Association that this General As do not regard themselves as having neglected to express
their sentiments in reference to slaveholding; and the
in our judgment, it better accords with the principles
correspondence that the respective bodies be left to gave
sue their own course in reference to all matters of the clesiastical action in their own churches.

After some discussion, these resolutions were es-mitted to a special committee, consisting of Rev. Dr. Campbell, Rev. Henry Neill, and C. R. Robert, Esp.

The Rev. Mr. Pitkin's resolutions smack of the lash They bear the humble marks of a tyrant's meeters. They show that he prefers the fellowship of Satan, if he favors slavery, to that of an honest man, who favors liberty. The Church is self-righteous, cruel, and dealish. Had it any regard for justice, it w sent its General Assembly to hold its session in a slave State, where its members must, of necessity, be quartend on hypocritical slaveholders; and where, if they are not dumb dogs,' they must be the ungrateful recipients of the slaveholder's bounty. But, like Dr. Cox, their business is to 'preach the Gospel.' They have nothing to do with morality, justice, nor humanity. This Asserbly has been a week in session. It has had one free trip on a rail-road, has another proposed,-a ten miles' escursion to eat strawberries,—eaten a public supper Dr. Bullard's church,-had an offer of free drinks from a soda palace; and some other like propositions, to per-

form acts of great general public usefulness. May 24. The Assembly has received invitation from the 'Young Men's Christian Association' ' visit their rooms '; from Professor Spencer to 'visit the eclectic college '; from the Faculty of the University of Missouri to 'visit the Museum and College.' The Assembly have actually introduced resolution

favor of temperance and the Maine law; and the Bert. Dr. Wilson made the following report on slavery:-Rev. Dr. Wilson, from the Committee on Bills and

Overtures, reported the following min tee had received memor od of Iowa, of Western Reserve, the Pres Elyria, St. Joseph, Cincinnati, Ithaca, Pecris at Knox, Wabash, Athens, Maumec, Hamilton, Indiana

Knox, Wabash, Athens, Maumec, Hamilton, Indiangle olis, Geneva, and the Congregational church of Coldss—all couched in the most respectful language, all complaining that the orders of the Assembly of 1855 had not been complied with, and all of them calling for sortion on the part of the Assembly.

They have also received a memorial from the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia, deprecating any action of the part of this body, out of a simple regard for the peace, unity, and prosperity of the Church.

After protracted, deliberate and prayerful consideration of the whole subject, the Committee are unaniment in recommending to the General Assembly the following action:

1. That the General Assembly address a Pasteral Letter to all the Churches under their care, realizing the action of past Assemblies in regard to the single ness of the system of slavery, and expressing their depregate at the intemperateness of word and action which has too often characterized the spirit of those who have consciented and action and action who have consciented as a constant of the spirit of those who have

has too often characterized the spirit of those asso-conscientiously aimed at its overthrow.

2. That a Committee be appointed to report to the next Assembly on the constitutional fower of the As-sembly over the subject of slavery in our Churches, and that we recommend this evil be removed from or Church as soon as it can be done in a Christian and constitutional manner.

Even this is more than could have been expected here. Where was that 'Jerry Sneak,' the Ber. Mr. Sneed? Can there be no means devised, by which such scoundrels can be made to feel the curse they are so willing to continue on others, in their own progra persons? If I could hold the lash over Mr. Speed's back; if his wife and daughter could be compelled to breed children from promiscuous fathers for marist, is be raised as brutes are raised and sold as cattle are; would he desire to see an effort made for their eman pation 'passed in silence'? And yet, what better is this 'eloquent and educated' villain's wife and daugh ter than an honest black man's? If the religion of this country was not true, it could not exist a year under such concentrated inhumanity, injustice and rescality. But religion is true, and it is saddled for the time being

JUN SPEECH ( In the M On the Quest No person any office in been born wi MR. SPEAK

tleman from previously h prepared to an accidenta locality of a bility to off useful he ma he resides; spirited; he business and wealth; he may be in cluded from

because he h omewhere States! An this country one year, or though he w foreign flag ioan coastollection of he might che institutions, strong attace that he hims until after point whether mallest deg all the prop This seems t The preci

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## SPIECH OF JOHN PRINCE, OF ESSEX, In the Massachusetts House of Representatives,

In the Question of adopting the following as an Amend-

No person shall be entitled to vote, or be eligible to 7 office in this Commonwealth, unless he shall have a born within the jurisdiction of the United States. Mr. Speaker: The proposition submitted by the genin from Ipswich, (Mr. Carey,) and which we have riously had before us in another form, I do not feel varel to adopt. I dislike the idea of making such a socidental circumstance as the mere geographical an accidental encountries as the mere geographical life to office for all his after life; so that, however tilly to omee for any member of the community where be resides; however upright, intelligent and public he resules, because much he may have at stake in the spirited; make and pecuniary transactions of the Common-business and pecuniary transactions of the Common-weith; however patriotic and deeply republican he may be in his sympathies; he must be absolutely exmay be in an sympactice, any office whatever, merely cluded from the because he happened to open his eyes for the first time because he happened to be boundary line of the United States! And this, too, although he may have come to this country when he was only five, or three years, or this country or even only six months old! Yes, even though he was horn on board a vessel sailing under a foreign dag when within a single day's sail of the Amergen coast. Though he might not have the faintest recollection of any other country than our own, though he might cherish a hearty love for our country and its nativitions, and nurture in the minds of his children a strong attachment to republicanism, yet the simple fact that he himself, by a mere chance, did not arrive here ntil after he began to breathe, must determine the point whether he shall or shall not participate, in the mallest degree, in the government to which he, with all the property be may accumulate, is made subject. This seems to me to be too narrowly and childishly pro-

The precise locality of a man's birth is a circumstace over which he has no control; neither merit nor demerit accrues to him in consequence of it. We are pose of us consulted as to where we shall first behold the light. It would puzzle many to ascertain where they were born. Indeed, none of us know anything in this respect, save what is told us. Many lose their parents in early childhood, in that period of life which manhood is totally forgotten, or but faintly recalled in dim and misty recollection. Thousands of families keep no record of the birth-places of their children; and especially is this the case with the emigrant population overspreading many portions of our country. The children of such, in many cases, after arriving at manhood, would be unable to prove anything with certainty on this point; they would even be unable to satisfy themselves as to whether they were by birth either American' or ' foreign.' But they would know, and could demonstrate to others, whether they were ' American ' in feeling and sympathy, whether they were mentally qualified for public office, whether they were men of reliable character or not, and whether they had reided here the term of time we might properly deem requisite-whether seven, ten, fourteen, or twenty-one pears ;-and this, I think, would be sufficient. Our ands should not be tied by constitutional provision, so that we cannot, in any case whatsoever, legally vote for such person, even for the most subordinate office.

Birth, complexion, physical stature and conformation are arranged and determined without regard to our wish or preference. For instance, could I have been consulted, I might have chosen for myself the tall form, breadth of shoulders and muscular strength of my find, the member from Upton, instead of my present diminutive proportions. [Laughter.] But the fates ordered otherwise, and I have no complaint to make :the whole, I am glad of it as a matter of convenience. The locality of a man's birth being equally accidental, I hope we shall not attempt to carry the 'native American' idea to the extreme of absurdity, but act rationally and within bounds. The 'American party,' in this very 'American' city, elected, last November, a 'foreigner' by birth to a seat on this floor !- thus showing that they did not intend to adhere rigidly to any such rule as is involved in the proposition now before us. Dr. Bigelow, at present a member of this House from Boston, was (as appears from Poole's Statistical Regiser) born in Canada ! Yet who of us thinks the less of him on that account? Who of us has felt, for a mo-

in the sense of a qualification or fitness to rule? Is it merely to be born on the soil designated by the geographical name of 'America,' and so narrowed down in interpretation as to signify just what is now includd neither more nor less, within the United States of America? I know some persons born in Massachusetts, who are far from being ' American ' in feeling and character,-if by 'American' you mean anything akin to sympathy for freedom, justice, republicanism, or faith in human improvement. Some 'natives' of our own State are ingrained aristocrats,-downright monarchsts, to all intents and purposes, -having little sympathy for mankind, and little trust in the capacity of the people for self-government. I would not vote for ach 'Americans' to legislate or administer, either in our Commonwealth or anywhere else. By an 'American, I mean one who is such in character-one who is American' or republican in principle, feeling, symathy, and impulse. A man's birth-place cannot defermine anything in this respect. You have doubtless beard, Mr. Speaker, of the English gentleman who adertised for a coach-driver, and in a postscript added that no Irishman need apply. An applicant for the station soon presented himself, and was asked where he was born; when he replied, 'In Ireland.' 'But,' said gentleman, "did you not see by the advertisement that I did not wish to employ an Irishman?" To this, the other rejoined by saying that, though born in Irehad, he was no Irishman; and he added, with some indignation, 'Suppose, sir. a man was born in a stable, is that any reason that he is a horse?' [Laughter.] agh a man be born in America, it does not necessariy follow that he is characteristically an American. wither is a man necessarily a monarchist or anti-republican in theory or in feeling, because he was born in Europe, or elsewhere outside the limits of a republic. Kassuth, Mazzini, and hundreds of men the other side of the Atlantic, are every whit better republicans than some prominent leading men in our own country at this homent, who are loud-mouthed in their professions of democracy. What kind of 'Americanism' is it that in-Suences such men as Mason of Virginia, the author of the Pugitive Slave Bill, or Senator Butler, or Stephen A. Douglas, or Franklin Pierce? Such "Americans" have 'ruled America' too long!

We might with as much propriety render ineligible all those born in Virginia, South Carolina, and some other portions of the United States, as hundreds who are born in England or Germany. Many who are naives of the last-named countries and who emigrate hither, are from their youth upward genuine, hearty republicans; while many who were born and reared in the Southern States, in the midst of the blighting social and political influences of chattel slavery, are in sympathy despotic, unfit to hold office in Massachusetts. What sort of republican training and education would le derived from the political and social atmosphere of Virginia, where Mrs. Douglas was imprisoned for keeping a school to teach free colored children to read; and his, too, when she was laboring 'all for love and nothing for reward '? One great complaint against Roman Catholics, (a complaint repeated on this floor several times this session, and which we have expressed through here laws pa sed here,) is that they aim to keep the People in ignorance, and are for this reason hostile to

this respect, without doubt; but when and where have cently arrived. In Massachusetts, we have never suf they ever attempted anything worse than has been re- fered from this species of political corruption, -at least, alized in Virginia and other portions of the South?

ed, of what advantage would it be for a man to be born, posed amendment prevent the recurrence of the evil educated and disciplined in Missouri? Events of re- If a man can now fraudulently procure naturalization cent occurrence in the Territory of Kansas may serve to illustrate the sort of 'republicanism' which actuates some of the people of Missouri, who went over the Kansas boundary line, fraudulently assumed the right to vote in the organization of the Territory, threatened to jurisdiction of the United States? And in such case, hang Governor Reeder if he should interpose any bar- who could gainsay his word, especially if he be removed rier to their villany, overawed the civil officers general- hither from a remote part of our country? If we ly, and thus trampled upon decency, law, order and adopt this amendment, shall we have any thing like an justice! And all for the purpose of subjugating that effectual safeguard against the contingency of foreign-

much republicanism would a person be likely to breathe been by the election of some 'natives'? into his soul in consequence of being born in a community of such rowdies as are herein described?

He referred to the reports of frauds and outrages

I think, Mr. Speaker, that there are some evils in this country besides those resulting from foreign emigration—some equally great, and as likely to sap the foundations of our republican institutions.

chusetts by birth, (Wm. Lloyd Garrison,)—who all his life has been battling in behalf of universal freedom? What kind of 'republicanism' was inculcated by Gov.

What kind of 'republicanism' was inculcated by Gov.

Markind of 'republicanism' was inculcated by Gov.

All the second in the case and the case is, the adoption of a uniform rule prescribing a reasonable term of residence here, so that they may become affiliated with us, before exercising the elective fran-What kind of "republicanism was industrial that the harmond, George McDuffie, and Calhoun, when they declared that slavery existed by divine right, that it Thousands of intelligent Protestants are continually was of 'patriarchal' origin and authority, and that it emigrating to our shores; and from their influence was even the 'corner-stone' of the American govern-we can have nothing to fear, but much to hope for and ment? How much better would any man be, for havment? How much better would any man be, for hav-ing been born and reared in the midst of such teachers, than if born in England or Germany, or even in Aus-tria? rejoice in. It is, doubtless, equally true, that many are constantly coming hither, who (like some natives) are, when they arrive, unfit to be citizens any where.

Washington, 'Put none but Americans on guard!', dismayed or hallucinated by morbid fears. Their children will be likely to prove intelligent, virtuous, and qualified for republican citizenship, unless spoiled by the bad principles and evil influences of their 'native' associates. Our feet are little and the likely to prove intelligent, virtuous, and qualified for republican citizenship, unless spoiled by the bad principles and evil influences of their 'native' associates. American, and I do not object to the doctrine. But I think there is not a little cant in this frequent reiteration of the alleged danger of having any other persons on guard' than those born on American soil. Who, let me ask, sought to betray the cause of freedom during the American Revolution? Was it Lafayette, the latter of the country of Kasaiuszeo, the native of Possical all round the globe. native Frenchman? or Kosciuszco, the native of Poland? or Baran de Kalb, the native German? or Richland? or Baran de Kalb, the native German? or Richard Montgomery, the native Englishman? No! it was a 'Native American'—Benedict Arnold—who was born in the wooden-nutmeg State of Connecticut! No truer patrict or more devoted soldier participated in the struggle of the colonies against Great Britain, than the Struggle of the colonies against Great Britain, who cast in the struggle of the colonies against Great Britain, than was Baron de Steuben, the native Prussian, who east in his lot with our Revolutionary sires, and, but for the timely aid of the State of New York in the grant of land, and a generous pension from Congress, would have died in poverty. He sought not to secure even posthumous distinction or homage, but made an earnest that his holy might not be buried with pomptons that his holy might not be buried with pomptons that his holy might not be buried with pomptons and great grandfather before me. Moreover, I bin on that account? Who of us has felt, for a moment, that that highly respected gentleman is an interlepet here, because he happened to be born outside of the line of the United States jurisdiction?

None but Americans should rule America, is the motiof the party now in power in this State; and this basen many times and emphatically reiterated here than he at the treachery and perfidious character of Arnold. Says a historian of the time, 'So great was his abhorrence of every thing mean and contemption that the could never endure the name of General Putnam, while a British frigate in the river was sweeping the Neck with cannon balls, and who, Arnold after that dishpapenedle officer proved a traitor.

> urge the proposition now before us, should seek further to amend the Constitution by providing that no one should be eligible to office in our State unless born within the limits of Massschusetts; and still further, the head and heart of its author.]—ED. LIBERATOR. that no one should be a County Commissioner, Treasurer, Register of Deeds, or Register of Probate, unless born within the County ; and further yet, that no one should be a Representative in any town in the Legisla-

'Fee, fi, fo, fum, I smell the blood of an Irishman— Dead or alive, I will have some.' [Laughter.]

free common schools. Romanists are bad enough in hundreds of ballots were cast by foreigners then renot upon a scale sufficiently extended to attract atten-So far as republican fitness for office may be concern- tion. And if we had so suffered, how would the pro The following I have clipped from a telegraphic reposition that they were native born? And suppose port, in the newspapers, of the speech of Gov. Reeder, that, now and then, by hook or by crook, one such of Kansas, on his late visit to Pennsylvania. What a foreigner should slip into some office of no great consepicture does it present us of the principles and prac-tices of natives of one portion of our country! How we be much more disgraced or injured than we have

As far as our own State is concerned, the stringen proposition we are discussing is entirely uncalled for 'He referred to the reports of frauds and ontrages upon the part of slavery men in the Kansas election, and emphatically confirmed the very worst statements of them, which had preceded his arrival. He said his opinions on the subject of popular sovereignty had undergone no change, but that the conduct of the people of the border counties of the north of Missouri had astonished and amazed him by their reckless disregard of all lares, compacts and constitutions; that the territory of Kansas in her late election had been invaded by a regular organized army, armed to the teeth, who took possession of the ballot-boxes, and made a Legislature to suit the purposes of the pro-slavery party. Kansas was subdued, subjugated and conquered by armed men from Missouri, but her citizens were resolved never to give up the fight for their freedom, and the independence of their soil from foreign control or interference.'

I think, Mr. Speaker, that there are some evils in this country besides those resulting from foreign emi-Comparatively few foreigners have ever held State offi-

gration—some equally great, and as likely to sap the foundations of our republican institutions.

When have the naturalized foreigners in any part of our country been guilty of any thing equal in enormity to the recent conduct of the Missourians? In this case, it should be observed, the persons of whom I complain were in the strictest sense the aggressors. What sort of a republican education would one receive if brought up at the feet of the civil authorities and teachers of law and politics in Georgia—the State which offered, through its Legislature, \$1000 reward for the head of a 'Native American'—a son of Massachusetts by birth, (Wm. Lloyd Garrison,)—who all his life has been battling in behalf of universal freedom? This class we may seek to 'Americanize,' in a decent during this discussion, quoted the saying attributed to Washington, 'Put none but Americans on guard!' sense of that term; and if they themselves are not immediately improved, we have no occasion for being

ble, that he could never endure the name of General Arnold, after that dishonorable officer proved a traitor to his country. While reviewing a regiment of light horse, the name of Arnold happened to strike his ear. The man who bore it was ordered to the front. He was a fine-looking fellow, with horse and conjuments in excellent order,—'Change your name, brother soldier,' said the Baron, 'you are too respectable to bear the name of a traitor!' Verily, there is considerable nonsense in the implied assumption of a necessity that one should prove himself native-born, before he can be trusted out of sight! for a widow lady in the town of Hamilton. I not a To be consistent, and legitimately extend the ultra genuine, true-blue, original, thorough-going, out-and-native' idea, those gentlemen who pertinaciously out native American! The idea is preposterous, Mr.

[This speech is in the highest degree creditable to

## JUSTICE FOR KANSAS.

The people of Kansas, whose rights have been outture, unless a 'native' of that town. In case of the raged by Missouri ruffians and outlaws, have petitioned adoption of such ameritments, our friend from Ipswich Congress for redress. Congress must inquire into the would be disfranchised in this Commonwealth; for he matter. That inquiry will establish all that has been is a 'foreigner' to Massachusetts, being a native of charged, and must result in the dissolution of the terri Now Hampshire, which has usually been reckoned, in torial legislature, or at least in the rejection of their its political characteristics, one of the Southern States acts, which are but the doings of a horde of lawacts, which are but the doings of a horde of law-less tyrants. A bill must be introduced to punish such villany hereafter. But will the slave tyrants allow it to pass? Is not the Kansas scoundrelism the true spirit of slavery, with its drapery a little rent? Does the slave tyrants allow it to pass? Is not the Kansas scoundrelism the true spirit of slavery, with its drapery a little rent? Does the slave the deep report of the rent spirit of slavery, with its drapery a little rent? Does the slave the rent spirit of their to show the intensity of their to show the show t Americanism. In this, I think they do not accurately represent the entire American party,—to say nothing of the rest of the people of this Commonwealth. However this may be, I do not sympathise with any 'raw head and bloody bones' warfare upon foreigners, merely as such. I do not adopt as my political motto the representative come of the crim giant in the aureacy sters. y as such. I do not adopt as my political motto the apacious song of the grim giant, in the nursery story hold the God they worship, 'rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory'?

## REV. DR. SAMUEL H. COX.

I admit that there are evils arising from the multi- We are advised by our St. Louis correspondent, that Dr. tudinous emigration of foreigners to our country. S. H. Cox will apply for a patent for an important im tudinous emigration of intergence to the control of volved in the proposed amendment to our fundamental law. To obviate the evils complained of, it would be hore proper to begin at the fountain-head—the federal ried any distance, or any length of time, without gallgovernment. Let whatever legislation is demanded ing. The Doctor has worn one of these with great hucommence at Washington—let the naturalization laws mility and satisfaction over fifteen years; sustaining the revised or reconstructed, if need be, so as effectually load, not only of sin and guilt, but also of shame, sufficient to preclude, if possible, the perpetration of fraud in to crush a dozen common men, without suffering the leas the propural of naturalization papers. That gross frauds and impositions in regard to voting have been practised, especially in the great States of New plenty. Those persons who, for a few years past, have been York and Pennsylvania, and in some portions of the wearing 'Dr. Cox's patent Christian yoke,' are advised West, I do not doubt. It has been asserted, with that he has never surrendered its use to the public; but much plausibility, that one Presidential election was that as soon as his letters shall be issued, the tens of decided by the votes of men who had not resided in the thousands who are now using them will come forward country so long as the naturalization laws require—

New York baving turned the scale by a plurality of a and expensive litigation. Church members in the slave few hundred votes, and it being evident that many States will be permitted to use these yokes gratis.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION FOR NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Another Shameful Outerage in Missouri. It was recently stated that a lawyer named Phillips had been arrested by the pro-slavery men of Leavenworth, (K.T.) and preparations were made for tarring and freathering alm, when the collection of a band of freedom in New Hampshire, without distinction of party, to meet in CONCORD, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, June 21st and 22d, 1855, at 2 o'clock, P. M., on the day first named. The objects of the Convention will be to consider the whole subject of Slavery, in its relations to the Politics and the Religion of the country, and to adopt the most efficient measures for the regeneration of public opinion, and the destruction thereby of the whole slave system, root and branch. The signs of the times indicate the approach of a grand Moral and Political Revolution, which shall array the whole power of the Free States in uncompromising hostility to the Slave Oligarchy. In this movement, the people of New Hampshire have important duties to perform, and it is meet that they should come together in Convention to examine the principles by which those duties must be determined.

Among those who may be expected to attend the Convention are William Loop Garriers. Strephen S and Arby K. Foster, Wendell Phillips, and A. T. Foss, For the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

Another Stameful Contact that a lawyer named Phillips had been arrested by the pro-slavery men of Leavenworth, (K.T.) and preparations were made for tarring and feathering alm, when the collection of a band of freedom in recently the marked McCrea the revolutions when the collection of a band of freedom in preparations were made for tarring and feathering alm, when the collection of a band of freedom in preparations were made for tarring and freathering alm, when the collection of a band of freedom in when the collecti

SAMUEL MAY, JR. Boston, May 30th, 1855.

## AN EXPLANATORY LETTER.

of words in one of the resolutions :- 'true democracy' are the words. I believe the word 'true' improperly connected with democracy. Democracy, with the help of Constitutional Republicanism for the establishment Kansas and Parkville, was held at the City Hall this

age will pass away with the elements of the man of sin,

in the foregoing acted by democratic rules; therefore,

# TION.

Any person who has a file of the Genius of Univer sal Emancipation, no matter whether perfect or not, and is willing to sell the same, will confer a favor by writing to R. F. WALLOUT, 21 Cornhill, stating price, &c.

LECTURES BY MRS. ERNESTINE L. ROSE. On Sunday afternoon last, Mrs. E. L. Rose, of New York, gave a very lucid and able address on slavery, to a highly appreciative audience, in the Lecture Room of the Music Hall, in this city. She forcibly depicted the withering influencee of that terrible system upon the manners, morals, habits, industry and enterprise of the people of the South-speaking from personal observation-and administered a scathing rebuke to Northern servility to the Slave Power, by which alone that Power is enabled to maintain an existence on the American soil.

Mrs. Rose lectured again in the evening, at the same place, on the subject of Woman's Rights. She spoke for place, on the subject of Woman's Rights. She spoke for nearly two hours, without notes or reference to any manuscript, with great vigor of appeal, power of reasoning, and masterly ability, keeping the unbroken attention of her audience to the end, and eliciting frequent expressions of approbation. Mrs. Rose is one of the whirlwind, and was torn to pieces and scattered abroad. Twelve persons were in the house at the time, of whom three were instantly killed—the wife of Mr. Page, and two children of Mr. R. L. Wheeler, his son-in-law. Four other persons were seriously injured, and it is feared some of them fatally. curacy. She ought to have had much fuller houses.

The Cincinnati Presbytery, at its late session, passed resolutions that the General Assembly of 1855 be requested, either by the clear, solemn and emphatic readoption of resolutions passed at previous Assemblies, or in some other way, to bear such decisive testimony against the holding of slaves as shall fully sustain the high position of the Presbyterian Church;—and that the General Assembly be also requested to call the special attention of the churches in which slaves are held, to the only exceptional cases in which, according to the decision of the General Assembly of 1850, the relation of legal ownership can ever be sustained, consistently with the principles of the Gospel, or with the declared views of the Presbyterian Church.

Leavenworth.

These are the facts, briefly related, as they come to us, and they can be most implicity relied upon. They unfold to the people of the Union, and especially to the North, a most alarming state of affairs.' The St. Louis Republican of May 25th adds the fol-

MOUNT ZION, May 19, 1855.

The following paragraph is copied from THE LIBETHE following is thus stated: Phillips had incurred the prejudice and displeasure of the people of Leavenworth City, by the part which he took in the murder of Clark, by McCrea. He handed McCrea the pistol with which he shot Clark; and added to this, Slavery Convention':

'Col. Rees E. Price rose to speak. He boasted that he had not a drop of democratic blood in his veins. He advocated first a constitutional republican government, and then a theocracy, but was called to order by the Chair, when he declared he was not an Abolitionist, and not a member of the Convention, and sat down.'

I offer explanation. I was offended at the connection of words in one of the resolutions:—'true democracy.'

### ROCHESTER, May 24.

connected with democracy. Democracy, with the help of Constitutional Republicanism for the establishment of justice, has been tried by the nation, and proved false to justice and righteous liberty. The fault is in the element. The vile and the ignorant outnumber the virtuous and the wise. The dogma that all men are created (politically) equal is one of the last delusions of 'the man of sin.' Political rights are acquired 'by patient continuance in well-doing,' and no two men acquire precisely the same rights.

Governments derive their just powers from God. The Confederacy will be broken to pieces like a potter' vessel, because the Federal Government is unjust. The American institution of slavery has been tolerated by the Houler Power (more than a quarter of a century since thy inspiration began the cry, 'undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free ') to prove democracy where democracy is most intelligent and free—in the free States,—and where democracy in power is led by men sworn 'to establish justice.'

The democratic element, subjected to the good influences of the Bible, Abolitionism, Liberty, and Free-Soil Republicanism, loveth not the truth, for it harm pleasure in unrighteousness. Its body-politic is dead, and 'Know-Nothing' is the result. Its national head (Federal Government) is damned; and I have, in the gallery of the House of Representatives, May 27, 1852, and in the Supreme Court room, March 2, 1853, with a loud cry made proclamation thereof.

The principles of democracy are beastly. The body assumes the sovereign, and the wicked head assumes it lawful to yield obedience to its impulses; and thus the Federal head yielded or gave power unto a beast until the purposes of God are fulfilled in the experiment; for, be assured, the beastly principles of the democratic fage will pass away with the elements of the democratic for gave power unto a beast until the purposes of God are fulfilled in the experiment; for, be assured, the beastly principles of the democratic fage will pass away with the e

and no place be found for them.

A Constitutional Republican Government, elected from above, and guided by Theocracy, is practicable, and will succeed and supplant the democratic federal government in two of the three pieces of the broken confederacy. The other fragment may continue democratic long enough for a contrast.

You are the standard of Abolitionism, and as such, I am in duty bound to pay you high honor. You are a second John the Baptist. Your work is done, and well done. You have shaken the Confederacy to its centre, and made its heart quake with fear of a dissolution, (preceding the enactment of the peace measures of the THE WAY IT WAS DONE. A Kansas correspondent of

and made its heart quake with fear of a dissolution, (preceding the enactment of the peace measures of the damned,) and there is nothing more to do under the name of Abolitionist. I would enlist thee in the kingdom of Goden a kingdom that shall break in pieces confederated oppressors, establish justice and judgment in the earth, and stand for ever.

I honor the name of Abolitionist. You are the Abolitionist—I am the Theocrat.

In conclusion, let me say, the Convention alluded to in the foregoing acted by democratic rules: therefore.

Seventy Persons Decreed Slaves by a Maryland Court. Nine years ago, John Townsend, a farmer of Maryland, died, leaving a will, by which he emancipated his slaves, seventy in number. Fearing lest his here any constitutional objection to placing a slave on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States?

2d. Is there any legal objection?

2d. Is there any legal objection?

3d. Is there any political, religious, moral or social objection?

If there is any reason why a slave should not be a Judge, I wish some one who is capable would state it.

L.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

LIBERAL BEQUESTS. The late Abner M'Ghee, of Alabama, previous to his death, made the following liberal donations: American Bible Society, New York, \$50,000; McGhee College, Alabama, \$10,000; Samaritan College Fund, Alabama Conference Methodist ProtestantChurch, \$10,000; Alabama Bible Society, Montgomery, \$10,000.

How much of this large sum was whipped out of the slaves? It is not stated that he liberated any one of them-for we take it for granted he was a slavehol-

The Atlas is informed that the 'Personal Liberty Bill' was not submitted to the Justices of the Supreme The Atlas is informed that the 'Personal Liberty Bill' was not submitted to the Justices of the Supreme Court for their opinion, and they gave none concerning it. The clause cited by the Governor in his message was from an answer given by that Court to certain questions propounded to them some months ago.

The Tornado at the West .- On Monday af-

A Sad Accident .- Five children were killed A cast Accident.—Five children were killed near Empire city, in Oregon, March 26th, by the falling of a spruce tree 250 feet in height, which was standing at a distance of 200 feet from the house in which the children were sleeping. The heavy branches crushed through the roof and floor of the house, instantly killing five of the eight persons who were within at the time. The survivors, strange to say, received no injuries.

A fatal accident occurred last Saturday, on the Wilmington and Manchester railroad. Mr. Alfred Haney, a conductor on that road, while in the discharge of his duties, missed his footing as he was passing between two cars, and fell across the track. He was immediately run over by the train, which crushed both head and feet, killing him instantaneously.

The Virginia Election.—We will not confuse the reader by filling our columns this morning with the almost numberless despatches which reached this city from various points of Virginia, although the intelligence conveyed in those despatches was of the most cheering character. All our correspondents agree in stating, that the Know Nothings have met with a Waterloo defeat; that they have lost their Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, the Congressional delegation, and both branches of the Legislature. The only doubt is as to the amount of Wise's aggregate majorities—some estimates touching as low a figure as five thousand, and others reaching as high as fifteen thousand.—Washington Union, May 27th. The Virginia Election .- We will not con-

Death of the Hon. Wm. S. Holabird.—
The Hon. Wm. S. Holabird, of Winsted, died at his residence in that village, on the evening of the 22d instant. He returned from New York on Saturday evening, was taken ill, and died on Tuesday evening. He was a prominent lawyer of Litchfield county, was U. S. Attorney for the District of Connecticut, from 1823 to 1840, and Lieut. Governor of the State in 1842-3. In politice, he was a Democrat of considerable prominence.

Railroad Conductor Killed .- Mr. Smith, conductor on the New London, Williamatic and Palmer railroad, was killed last night about a quarter of a mile south of Stafford Springs. He was walking on the top of the ears of his train, when his head came in contact with a bridge, and the blow proved fatal .- New Haven

The Constitutional Amendments .- Sufficient returns of the election on Wednesday are received to render it certain that all the six proposed articles of amendment to the Constitution of Massachusetts have been ratified by a majority of the votes cast.

The Messrs. Cunningham, of Boston, publish a card sent by telegraph to Liverpool, stating that there is no foundation for the report that the ship Samuel Appleton, sent out by them to Port Baltic, had a supply of arms on board for the Russians. She carried no cargo but her cotton.

The Legislature of Massachusetts was in session 130 days, having passed 488 bills and 89 resolves. The pay-roll of the House was \$161,503; and that of the Senate, \$17,553.

A telegraphic despatch from Wells River, Vt., dated Monday morning, May 21, says— We are having quite a severe snow storm here this

The cost of the Norwalk disaster to the New York and New Haven Railroad has been \$289,000, and there are still unsettled claims against the company, outstanding. It will not probably escape the liabilities and losses on account of that terrible affair short of \$300,000. Dr. Browne, of Ipswich, a sufferer by this tragedy, obtained a verdict in the Supreme Court of Pasex, on Saturday, for \$16,000 damages.

The Statue of Judge Story, executed by his son, William Story, was uncased on Saturday, at the Boston Athenœum. Critics pronounce it a fine work of art, and persons competent to judge say the likeness is

### SPECIAL NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

In regard to copies of THE LIBERATOR of May 18th, we are in a very disagreeable 'fix.' By a blunder, nearly one hundred of our subscribers at a distance received duplicate copies of it !- leaving us deficient to that amount, so that we have none for our files, or to send to subscribers across the Atlantic. Those, therefore, who have received these duplicates, will greatly oblige us by returning them by mail immediately, directed on the wrapper, 'Liberator, Boston, Mass.' Others who do not keep a file of the paper, and can spare the last number, are requested to forward it in the same way.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in the Town Hall in Middleboro', next Sunday, June 3, at the usual hours of meeting in the forenoon and afternoon, and at 5 o'clock in the evening.

### BALL'S MAMMOTH PICTORIAL

TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES. This Anti-Slavery work, gotten up by colored men who have lived over twenty years in the South, will be exhibited in Amory Hall, commencing Monday evening, April 30.

This magnificent Painting has been prepared at an This magnificent Painting has been prepared at an immense expense, and in point of size, variety of scenery, and excellence of execution, surpasses any work of the kind ever presented to the American public. It covers more than 23,000 feet of canvass, and contains views of Charleston, S. C., Balize, New Orleans, Natchez, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Wheeling, Pittsburg, Wilkesbarre, Pa., Washington City, Boston, Niagara Falls; also, of

A VOYAGE FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA.

Nearly all the scenes were sketched from nature, ex-ressly for this work.
From its immense size, it is divided into Four Parts.
For particulars, see small bills.
Cards of admission, 25 cents.

[ This Panorama will be exhibited only a few days longer. Do not fail to improve the opp see it, and encourage its meritorious projector.]-ED.

### COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

REVOLUTION.

As a means of enlightening public sentiment on an interesting, but much-neglected, department of American History, the subscriber has been induced to make a compilation of facts portraying the patriotism and bravery exhibited by Colored Americans, on land and sea, in 'times that tried men's souls,' embracing the old French War of '55, the Revolution of '76, the struggle of 1812, and subsequent periods. These facts have been gleaned from military records, State documents, private correspondence, and fireside conversations, confirmed by oral and written testimonies of John Hancock, Governor Eustis, the late Judge Story, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Hon. Tristam Burgess, Hon. Charles Pinckney, etc., etc., and by the tributes of Washington, Lafayette, Kosciusko, Thomas Jefferson and Gen. Jackson.

The subscriber is indebted for further interesting facts and testimonies to John G. Whittier, (the Bard of Freedom); Wendell Phillips, Esq.; J. W. C. Pennington, D.D.; William Howard Day, Esq.; Rev. Theodore Parker, Charles Lenox Remond, Hon. Charles Sumner, Prof. Wm. G. Allen, Lydia Maria Child, James McCane Smith, M.D.; Hon. Henry Wilson, J. Mercer Langston, Esq.; David Lee Child, Esq.; Rev. Daniel A. Payne, Hon. Anson Burlingame, James M. Whitfield, (the Poet;) Robert Purvis, Esq.; Hon. J. R. Giddings, Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, Prof. Geo. B. Vashon, Edmund Jackson, Esq.; Robert Morris, Esq.; Rev. Amos G. Beman, Dr. M. R. Delany, William Wells Brown, Lewis and Milton Clark, Rev. Henry F. Harrington. the late Henry Bibb, Angelina J. Knox, Rev. John W. Lewis, Hon. Gerrit Smith, Wm. Yates, Esq.; Wm. J. Watkins, Esq.; and several others.

The work will contain an extract from the Address of

Henry Bibb, Angelina J. Knox, Rev. John W. Lewis, Hon, Gerrit Smith, Wm. Yates, Esq.; Wm. J. Watkins, Esq.; and several others.

The work will contain an extract from the Address of the National Convention of July, 1853, and will be interspersed with interesting sketches (public and personal) of the Battle of New Orleans, the Insurrection of Nat. Turner in Virginia, and Denmark Vearie in South Carolina, and the New York Plot of 1741, as in part detailed by Peleg W. Chandler, Esq., in his 'Criminal Trials.' Also, an account of the strikes for liberty by Joseph Cinquez, on board the Armistad; by Madison Washington, on board the Creole, and by the heroes of Christiana.

Among other contents of the work will be found proofs of the acknowledged Citizenship of Colored Americans, with a Letter of Hon. Wm. H. Seward; un account of the proscription of colored citizens by the Federal government; New England Colonial action on the treatment of colored persons, bond and free; sentiments of the colored people on Colonization, the Fugitive Slave Law, and Self-Elevation; together with reminiscences of Phillis Wheatley, Paul Caffec, (Navigator) David Walker, Richard Bannekar, (Astronomer.) James Forten, J. B. Vashon, Richard Potter, (Ventriloquist,) Hosea Easton, David Ruggles, (Hydropathist.) Rev. Lemuel Haynes, and other celebrities.

The book will be graced with an introduction by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Illustrated by engravings of prominent historical events; among them, Crispus Attucks at the Boston Massacre, 5th March, 1770, and the Colored American's valor on Bunker Hill. Also, a faction the autographic certificate of General Washington, conveying an honorable discharge to a colored soldier. In the effort to publish this edition, a heavy responsibility (pecuniary and otherwise) has been assumed by the friends of humanity and progress, who are invited by the friends of humanity and progress, who are invited by the friends of humanity and progress, who are invited by this circular to forward their names and subsc

oby this dricant to forward their names and subscriptions for copies.

Should sufficient encouragement be extended, the work will be issued in May, at the price of \$1 per copy. On receipt of price, the book will be mailed (postage paid) to subscribers.

WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

Boston, April, 1855.

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### POETRY.

### THE CROWNING CRIME OF CHRISTEN DOM.

BY JAMES HUBNARD I saw in the visions of night An African village on fire ! The flames rolled along in their might, And the shricks of the victims rose higher and higher As of infant, and parent, and grey-headed sire.

The man-stealers sprang on their prey ! And hundreds were slain or subdued ; Some perished in utter dismay, And others were slain while for mercy they sued; And the soil they had tilled with their blood was in

One sight I shall never forget, Till the sunbeam of life is denied, And the star of my memory shall set : bridegroom, self-slaughtered, enclasping his bride, Who lay murdered, and mangled, and scorehed by hi

The captives in fetters were bound, Fear ran through their tremulous frames, And they sobbed as they gazed round and round, For where children that day had been playing their

There were carcasses, captives, and smouldering flame

The vision fled slowly away, And another appeared in its place : I looked on a beautiful bay, And ships in tranquillity slept on its face : They were slavers !- the pest of the African race. On the shore was a horrible mart,

Where man was the merchandize sold, Where the best blood that boils through the hear Was bartered as though it were stolid and cold As the storm-beaten rock, or the slave-dealer's gold ! Sweet babes from their mothers were torn-

Wives were rent from their husbands away-Fond brothers asunder were borne-And lovers were parted and sold far astray, To clasp hands never more till the great Judgment-day I heard them in anguish complain.

For life without love is but dross; But they pleaded for mercy in vain, For the demons who swore by the creed of the Cross, Turned their faces away with an insolent toss. I gazed on the hot iron brand,

As it hissed on each ebony skin; I saw the slaves borne from the land To a slave-ship, and packed in a large loathsome bin, Where the stench seemed to quench the dull light that

The vision fled slowly away, And another appeared in its place: Far around flashed the bright ocean spray, And a ship sped along in her beauty and grace, Bounding o'er the wild waves with the swift swallow

But pestilence, madness and death Raged and raved in her dark crowded hold. And the slaves, as they drew their last breath, Uncoffined, unwept, ere their limbs were yet cold, O'er the tall vessel's side were remorselessly rolled

Swift, swift o'er the billowy main, Flew onward that death-stricken bark, And following as swift in her train Swam many a monstrous and ravenous shark, Gorging freely their fill of the carcasses dark.

As I gazed, the great deep was unsealed ; I looked down on the broad ocean's bed, And a valley of bones was revealed, Which shall yet be an army with banners outspread, When the last trumpet sounds which shall waken the

The vision fled slowly away, And another appeared in its place: Before me a fair vision lay, Where mountains rose high, like a huge giant race, With sweet flowery fields lying calm at their base.

That land was the land of the slave! The scene of his closing career ! Where the generous, the fond, and the brave, Toiled on in their manacles, year after year, Paid with stripes for their labor-their solace, a jeer

I saw them worn out with their toil. Urged on by the slave-driver's whip; I saw the lash cruelly coil Round their scar-covered backs, till the warm blood

would drip, While a groan faintly fell from the eloquent lip

Enslaved both in body and mind, The victims of grief and despair, They seemed to their fortune resigned,

With no will of their own, for the future no care, Like the dumb beasts of burden, whose lot is-to bear I beheld a poor African chief,

Whose name was once honored afar, Yet meekly he bore with his grief, And sang to himself, 'Calabar! Calabar! ' Me could die in sweet peace could me see Calabar ! The vision fled slowly away,

And another appeared in its place I witnessed the great Judgment-day! And the branded, down-trodden, enlaved negro race, With their tyrants and task-masters stood face to face Then spake One from the cloud which he trod-

\* IF MAN HAS NO MERCY ON MAN, How can man hope for mercy from Gon? And a cry of despair through the multitude ran. There is no hope for men who have trafficked in man

## TRY AGAIN.

How oft has disappointment marred Some cherished plan of mine, And bidden winter clouds appear Where summer's sun should shine Yet often as they darker grew, I've seen some wondrous pen Upon the very blackest write The sentence- Try again.

How often in the stilly hour Of night, the heavy sigh In sympathy has strove to meet The tear-drop in my eye; And then like angels whispering Their messages to men,

I've heard a quiet breathing of The sentence- Try again. How often, as I've walked amidst

Life's ever busy tide, And jostled with its favor'd ones On each and every side; When my misfortunes seemed to be

O'erwhelming, even then Has some good spirit breathed to me The sentence-'Try again ! ' My guardian angel it must be,

Or else the weight of care Had sunk me in the very depths Of sorrow and despair : But, oh! my heart much lighter seems, And hope shines brighter, when I hear that spirit softly breathe The sentence-' Try again.'

PREEDOM AND RIGHT.

Bound to no party, to no sect confined ; The world our home, our brethren all mankind. Love truth-do good-be just and fair with all ; Exalt the Right, though every Ism fall

## THE LIBERATOR.

### THE PROGRESSIVE PRIENDS. DEAR FRIEND, W. L. GARRISON:

I send thee for insertion in THE LIBERATOR, if thou canst find room for it, a correspondence which took place between myself and Abram Pryne, then editor of the Christian and Citizen, published at Peterboro', N. Y., now, I think, of a paper called The Reformer, published at Syracuse. A principal reason for asking an insertion of the correspondence in The Liberator them out. It denounces slavery, but refuses to vot is the circumstance, that the last article in the series, in rejoinder to his Reply—which was promptly forwarded to him, with a request that he would give it a place in his paper-has not, that I am aware, been either published or noticed by him; although I have written him several times asking what had become of

it, and, in the last instance, requesting the favor that, if he declined publishing it, he would return me the manuscript. But not a syllable have I received from him. What can have induced this singular conduct, on the part of friend Pryne, I am uninformed, or how editor and preacher, of 'reformer,' and the advocate of truth and anti-sectarian principles. I omit, for brevity, the insertion at length of our friend Pryne's notice of the Yearly Meeting, which led to the correspondence, as all that is material in that notice to the

matters in discussion is embraced in my first article. Lovingly thine for the promotion of truth and good-THOMAS M'CLINTOCK.

WATERLOO, 7th month 10th, 1855.

ESTEEMED FRIEND A. PRYNE:

in religion, but, I fear, hardly comprehends and adapts ward life. itself to the present.' Now, here are several allegations 4th. Love to God and love to man are the en an erroneous impression of the Society.

1st. 'The movement is as yet merely negative.' I dicated this assertion. If thou hast read the publica- trusted as an exponent or examplar of that love. tions of the Society, and the Basis of Association on 5th. Christianity originated in the bosom of God, and not, I think, have failed to perceive, that in both doc- But Jesus came in a dark age to reveal and restore it itive enough; at least I am certain it has been, from guide. ciently positive, a good opportunity presents for the lov- its divinely appointed means, will fail. admit of the statement.

ified proposition, or in any reprehensible sense? or morals; and to expect to find truth unmixed with come up as a reform, and professed a better and broad-

Again, thou savest- 'A reform that is not based

upon Christianity is to me without a soul. Christ, merely as a moral head, is far above all others, and as a ESTEEMED FRIEND, A PRYNE: world Savior, is the star of our hope. Whatever good I write not for controversy, but truth ; truth for men can do on humanitarian ground merely, one thee, truth for myself, and for all who may happen to can welcome and aid, but, at the same time, say to the read or give attention to what may pass between us. tion is not based upon Christianity-in other words, Friends' is 'merely negative,' 'denies the past,' &c. the correctness or incorrectness of the allegation will of thy justification seem to me not less in ty is, and in what respect, if any, it differs from hu- as will consist with perspicuity. manity; by which I mean the perfect development of 1. 'We think the movement negative, because

1st. What is Christianity?

2d. When, and with whom did it originate? preciation of man, by the principles of his nature; or Licentiousness, or in whatever form cruelty, injusti tion of a historical record?

substance of Christianity? among the constituent elements of his being?

this: 'to cease to do evil, and learn to do good '?-in ren and co-workers in human redemption. other words, that mankind, by the power dispensed to 2. 'It has no preachers, lecturers, publications, them from the Fountain of Infinite Perfection, Infinite special agencies, that we know of, through which i Wisdom and Goodness, overcome the perverted action acts.' Strangely incorrect. We have 'preachers,' of their God-like faculties, and attain to their normal goodly number; and had my friend Pryne attended the and harmonious exercise? Would not this save all meeting on First-day morning and afternoon, he could from vice and its attendant miseries, and fit them for not have made the assertion. Preaching, as I have the enjoyment of God and religion, and all that is love- said, is with us, as in the apostolic church, the distinly and beautiful on earth?

Thine for truth and humanity,

REPLY TO THOMAS M'CLINTOCK.

We gave, at the time we wrote on that subject. impressions concerning the 'Progressive Friends.' These impressions remain the same as when first expressed, and we proceed to justify them. We think the movement negative, because it does not propose any definite line of conduct by which to combine its efforts to re deem the world. It has no preachers, lecturers, publications or special agencies, that we know of, through which it acts. Its basis is a statement of abstract prin ciples, but presents no associated plan for carrying evils were arraigned,' but no practical plan, other than that of bearing 'testimony' on general principles, was adopted to destroy these vices. To us, such an association is 'merely negative.'

2d. 'It denies the past.' Our friend M'Clintocl proves our statement at this point to be correct, by saying, " We cannot admit any collection of writings in th world as standards of truth.' Of course, this is dehe can reconcile it with his professed character, as both this Bible has given character to the past, to deny it to deny the past. This declaration is even more definite and sweeping in its denials than was our charge. W need say nothing more on that point.

3d. That the movement is ill-adapted to the present is proved by its negative character. It presents no plan of associated and combined action for the overthrow of popular sins, or the systematic cultivation, as social beings, of the graces and virtues of Christianity. It repudiates Christ as its head or leader, and his church as a model of religious society. Instead of regenera-I have just read, in the Christian and Citizen of the tion, it talks of development. All society is a develop-15th ult., which thou wast so kind as to send me, thy ment of what is now in the human heart, and before d brief notice of the 'Yearly Meeting of Congregational velopment can help us, the soul, to be developed, must Friends,' held here a few days previous. I want to say first be regenerated. Until you preach regeneration, a word to theelf and readers, regarding some remarks instead of development, you will fail to 'adapt you movements to the present.' All the crimes of to-day Thou sayest- 'The movement is as yet merely nega- are but developments of what is in man. He must have tive. It denies the past, talks hopefully of the future a new interior life before he can manifest a new out

to which I am impelled to demur, as calculated to give Christianity. But Jesus Christ is an authoritative exponent of the tests and applications of love to God and man; and that movement that rejects him as authorita am at a loss to imagine on what thou couldst have pre-

which it was organized, and which has been printed in its essential principles is older than all the records of annually as an appendix to its proceedings, thou canst time, and had its birth before material things took form. trine and practice it has been everything the reverse of and that revelation and restoration is authoritative, negative, except in the sense in which every individual both in generals and in particulars. He who denies nd association ought to be negative, to wit, by not that authority wanders guideless through the fields of following a multitude to do evil, in embarrassing the religious speculation. His system is not arbitrary, but free exercise of conscience, by unessential creeds and is imperative, because founded upon infinite reason, and tests. But in its principles and objects-in the great where human reason is too weak to see the truth, faith fundamentals of religion and morals-it surely is post links it to the divine reason, and it follows Christ as a

the first, the desire and intention of those engaged in the movement, to make it so. And hence we have invited reformers and conservatives, of all names and cultivate and properly use these faculties, and when classes, (my friend Pryne with the rest,) to meet with we reject him, there is no hope that we will properly us on a free platform, and give us the truth they deem cultivate or use these faculties. Christianity is morimportant to mankind, however it may conflict with our than the 'development' of man's powers. It regeneown views. If, therefore, either in our theology, or in rates and directs these powers in the road of developthe practices advocated or opposed, we are not suffi- ment; and he who seeks this end by any other than

ers of truth and man to make us so; and, I think, I 7th. There is no salvation except in ceasing to do evil, may safely warrant them a kind and friendly hearing and learning to do well. But man, with his already in their efforts. But it cannot be that my friend Pryne perverted faculties, is not to be trusted to learn what is will now say that our 'movement is as yet merely nega- evil, and how to do well ; and hence God sent his Son tive, whatever, at the moment of penning the paragraph. into the world to show us the way of goodness, and by may have led to the assertion. He saw, during his at- his Spirit move us to walk in that way. If we reject tendance at that meeting, too many vices and evils him, we are sure to remain still. He is the 'Way' arraigned, and portrayed in their true character, to from error to goodness, the 'Truth,' which makes us free, and the model of the ' Life' of the true man. The 2d. 'It denies the past.' Is this true, as an unqual- simple fact that these Friends profess to love truth and We follow goodness is no evidence of the value of their believe truth is eternal, the same yesterday, to-day, movement. All sects in Christian and heathen lands and forever, and gladly recognize it, where we can, in make the same high professions. Hume, Bolingbroke the records of the past. But, believing in the law of and Voltaire were professed worshippers at the shrine progressive development, in both physical and mental of virtue and truth. But they rejected the Bible and being, we cannot admit any collection of writings in the the Savior as authority, and, of course, failed to find world as standards of truth, either in physics, religion, truth or virtue. Every modern phase of Infidelity has error in the records of remote ages, seems to us much er plan of redeeming the race than the plan of Christ. more unreasonable than to look for it in those of the Taking as a basis love to God and man, and truth as a guide, is indeed to adopt some beautiful and taking 3d. As regards our hopefulness of the future in phraseology; but when we reject the great model and religion,' I hope this is true. And I can also readily exemplar of both as our guide, our profession is liable entertain the 'fear,' that our movement 'hardly com- to be only a new and specious form of selfishness. To prehends and adapts itself to the present.' For a re- affirm that reason and the human soul are absolute, and formatory society perfectly to comprehend and adapt its that our own minds are to be our only guide, is, in our action to the present exigency, is an attainment as rare, estimation, blank infidelity, and whatever may be the probably, as it is desirable. I can only say, it is our good we seek, on such a basis, we shall only fall into darkness.

world's reformers, come up higher into the gospel I am a good deal disappointed in thy answer. I exlight.' The natural inference from what is here said, pected a ready admission, that, in asserting that the I think is, that in thy estimation our reformatory ac- movement of the 'Congregational or Progressive that the principles on which we operate are exclusive of thou hadst spoken precipitately. I expected this, be-Christianity, a carrying out, simply, of the benevo- cause the case appeared to me too plain to admit of diflent principles of our nature. Now, our judgment of ference of opinion. And allow me to say, the grounds

depend on our views respectively as to what Christiani- the primary positions. Let us look at them as briefly man's nature. As I regard the correct perception of does not propose any definite line of conduct by which truth on these points of great practical moment, the in- to combine its efforts to redeem the world.' Incorrect. terest I feel in thee, and also our reformatory and anti- Our Basis of Association constitutes all our meetings a sectarian movement, leads me to desire that on all sides free platform, on which every individual may exercis we may be right, and, if possible, 'see eye to eye.' To his conscience, without impediment, in promulgating aid us in the investigation of the subject, permit me to truth, according to his convictions, in all its attractions propose for thy consideration the following questions: and power, and in detecting and portraying error in all its injurious properties and hideous forms. And our 'larger meetings-Quarterly or Yearly'-it is expressly stated, are to be ' for counsel and advice, and 3d. Is Christianity absolute religion—absolute mornls, the result of the action of perfect and universal for the consideration and promotion of the great inter-Divine laws, and therefore as old as the period when ests of humanity, every thing that concerns man a conscious moral agents existed to be the subjects of those large, including, of consequence, the removal of the laws, and at all times open to the cognizance and ap- existing evils of the day, War, Slavery, Intemperance is it an arbitrary code of religion and morals, which, and other perverted principles, may operate.' Is this having its origin at a particular period of the world, a negative movement? Is there here no definite line with a particular person or persons, rests on an histori- of conduct by which to combine effort? If there is not cal basis, and is therefore an incidental and contingent I know not where to find it. Was there any thing truth, to be received on the authority of the declara- more definite in the action of what is called the primitive church—the assemblies which witnessed the labors 4th. Are love to God and love to man the essence and of Jesus and his apostles? Was their movement, too · merely negative'? I am sure ours embraces who 5th. Is not man, in the inherent principles of his na- Paul calls 'the foolishness of preaching,' by which ture, the work of Infinite Wisdom, Goodness, Power; he says, 'it pleased God to save them that believed. and can that Wisdom and Goodness have conferred It is by the preaching of righteousness, and a practice on him any one faculty, which, in its proper use, will corresponding with it, that we hope to do something not contribute to his perfection and happiness; and if toward the redemption of the world. The one princiso, will not all his faculties, properly used, secure his pal of association, practically securing perfect liberty highest welfare, temporal and eternal? Can, therefore, of conscience to all, irrespective of age, sex, condition Christianity, or true religion, be less or more than the or opinion, is itself a mighty element of a positive harmonious and perfect development of man's divinely character, destined, I trust, most beneficently to mould endowed powers? And are not the religious and moral other associations; and of which I have yet to find a oming the constituent elements of his being?

Oth. Is there any other salvation for the world than Show me such, and I will gladly hail them as breth

guishing instrumentality. We have our publications d humanity.

THOMAS M'CLINTOCK.

THOMAS M'CLINTOCK.

THOMAS M'CLINTOCK.

tracting the attention of many to the important prin- following - 'he who denies that authority wanders having both, if deemed wise and right. But are these indispensable to give the positive element to society? If so, the society of truth-loving reformers in the aposa moment.

3. 'Its Basis is a statement of abstract principles, Entirely incorrect, as already shown.

and accord the right freely to express our convictions on the subject, in meetings or out, on the one side or the other. To give my own views specifically now, would occupy too much space for this article; I will simply say, they admit of cooperation with human governments in all things in which they are not in con- Jesus, as exhibited in the record, can show us the way flict with the Divine government, or in which coopera- to cultivate and properly use our faculties." tion, no partnership exists in works of unrighteousness. But here again I may refer thee, as argumentun ad hominem, to thy 'model' and 'world-savior.' Did only teaching applicable to the point, that I remember he vote, or participate in the governments that then was to refer all to the law written in the mind. were, or recommend others to do so? 'My kingdom,' greater instrumentality for doing good than voting. a system or plan for redeeming the race, the reception and participating-in despotic, persecuting, war-making blind and unreasoning faith.' and slavery-sustaining governments.

its perception, that, in respect to the great essential them. , no doubt, it is revealed to us by Divine Light, as ex- between us, I will introduce another of thy positions. rnal objects are revealed by the light of the sun.

validity to any moral or religious truths it contains, is guide, is blank infidelity." the Light of God in the mind. The authority of the Bible, therefore, and the Bible itself, are two very difsoul is absolutely reason, and the human soul is absolutely a soul, a spiritual, immortal principle.

swer to them ed, and on which must turn most of the real or apparent difference between us, viz., what if Christianity? ing; he is simply the recipient and steward of the I find assertions as to what Christianity does, but no manifold bounty of God. Through his bodily senses, statement of what Christianity is. I would accept thy he may know the things of physical nature; and admission, that 'love to God and love to man are its through his spiritual faculties, he may know the things essence,' but that thou hast thrown around this admis-of spiritual being, so far as God intended him to know. sion so much of an extraneous character as to deprive Through these powers, which God has conferred on him it, to a great extent, of its value as a definition. Let as elements of his being, they are revealed to him as us endeavor to understand each other in this matter. facts of consciousness. They are revealed by their own

principle, but practice, it could not be restored.

ciples of our movement. And these, and our preachers, are the 'special agencies' through which we act. sides, I find the word 'only' subsequently used by thee True, we have no periodical newspaper organ, nor in an equivalent sense. Any other sense, indeed, would hired lecturers, though there is nothing to prevent our vitiate thy argument, as every good man is 'an author itative exponent of love to God and man.' He gives demonstrable evidence of both in his daily life, his picty and benevolence. But how can it be true that Jest tolic day were destitute of that element. But the af- is the only exponent of love to God and man, or 'of the firmative seems to me too absurd to be entertained for tests and applications ' of love to God and man '? Did net thousands, of all nations, before his advent, fee that love, and give evidence that they understood but presents no associated plan of carrying them out.' tests and applications too?—and thousands since that time, who never had access to the record of his doc-4. 'It denounces slavery, but refuses to vote against trines? Had not God implanted the principles of both it. It rebukes governmental crimes, but refuses to in man's nature, no declaration of Jesus, nor any one elect just men as rulers, or vote at all.' Incorrect else, could convey to a single human being an under again, as regards both principle and fact. As a body, standing of either, nor of their 'tests and applica we have no law against voting or participating in the cations.' Canst thou refer me to any tests or applica government of the country in which we live. Many do vote, and do participate. Others conscientiously recognised by enlightened minds? When the scribe decline, of which class I am one. I never voted for a inquired of Jesus, which was the greatest commandgovernment officer but once, and that very many years ment, he referred him to two injunctions of the Pentasince, and then did not cast a full vote. But in this teuch, embracing this very principle of love to God we leave each to be fully persuaded in his own mind, and man, without the slightest intimation that there was any thing new in it, and the scribe as readily recognised their importance, saying they were 'mor

than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices.' 3. 'The proper use of all our faculties will lead to perfection, but only the doctrine and practice of

If Jesus has given any dissertation on the cul and use of our faculties, I should like to see it. His

4. 'It is true, there is no salvation but in ceasing t he said, 'is not of this world ; if it were, then would my do evil, and learning to do well. But here, again, it servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews. is only by reference to the teaching and life of Jesus, And did not his immediate disciples, and their converts that we can know what is evil, and how to do well. generally, decline such participation? They seem to Man's faculties, already perverted, are not to be trusthave thought, with their Teacher, that there was a ed with the decision. The doctrines of Jesus comprise To this end,' said he, ' was I born, and for this cause of which is imperative on all, because founded on inficame I into the world, that I should BEAR WITNESS TO nite reason; and though our reason fail to see its THE TRUTH '- which, from the declaration preceding, truth, we must adopt it, and follow Christ as a guide. just cited, meant other witness to the truth than voting Tet is this system not arbitrary, though it require a

Here, again, I am glad to find the admission of a fun-5. And now as to the charge that 'it denies the past.' damental truth, that there is no salvation but in ceas-Our friend M'Clintock,' thou says, ' proves our state- ing to do evil, and learning to do good. No man, nor ment at this point to be correct, by saying, "We can- race of men, can be saved or redeemed, but by ceasing not admit any collection of writings in the world as from the practice of evil, and in the proportion that standards of truth." Of course, this is denying the they do so. To the extent that any one is in the pracauthority of the Bible as a standard ; and as this Bible tice of it, he is its slave and victim, and must suffer has given character to the past, to deny it is to deny the penalty. And dost thou mean to say, that none be the past.' This to me is a marvellous justification. fore Jesus came knew evil and good, and were saved Let us look at it. Not to admit any collection of writ- from the former, and blessed by the latter ?-or that ings in the world as perfect standards of truth, (for of none now can have this knowledge, without recurrence such standards the context shows I was speaking,) is to to his life and teaching? Then indeed has the condideny the authority of the Bible as a standard; and as tion of the countless myriads of mankind, before and this Bible has given character to the past, to deny it as since, been inexpressibly deplorable! Yet this is the such standard is to deny the past !! Have no other legitimate deduction from thy position, that 'Christ writings than those in the Bible given character to the only reveals to us the way to use our faculties,' and past? Have not the sacred books of the Hindoos, the that these faculties are 'not to be trusted to learn what writings of Confucius, the Koran of Mahomet, the is evil, and how to do well.' Thou wilt perceive that words of the philosophers and civilians of Greece and the proposition I have deduced from the positions taken Rome-not to speak of the thousands of more modern in thy remarks, lands in the doctrine of implicit faith ! date-have not these all 'given character to the past '? I think the deduction fair and inevitable from the pre and to deny them as standards of truth, is that to deny the past? Plainly not. To deny any fact or truth pear. And here let me remark, that thy assertion that of history is so far to deny the past. But have I not the system of Jesus (if any thing properly to be desaid, 'We gladly recognize truth, where we can, in the nominated a system can be deduced from the existing cords of the past '? All of the past is before us for record of his life and doctrines) is founded on infinite examination, and none of its archives are to be ac- reason, is but an assumption, and needs proof. Beaucepted, without competent evidence, as 'standards,' tiful as was his life, and generally excellent his doceither in physics, morals, or religion. To do so is initably to give up our minds to the conduct of error. fallible. By the statement of the record itself, be 'in-And let me ask, What dost thou mean by 'the author- creased in wisdom,' and therefore had not all of it. ity of the Bible '? Has it any authority other than Like other prophets and divine messengers, he 'saw in the evidence and force of the truth it contains? And part, and prophesied in part. And let me ask thee, art how are we to get evidence of truth, but by the ac- thou ready to take his doctrine and practice, in all things, tion of perfect laws, provided of God for its revelation as thy pattern? If so, I think thou wilt find thyself to us? And as God is at every point of every law very much of a Jew. For, although he made war on that operates, it is correctly said that he reveals it to the defective moral code of Moses, there is no evidence us by his spirit, 'even the deep things of God.' In in the history, that I am aware of, that he declined the regard to moral and religious truth, so beautifully has practice of the rituals of the law, or commanded others he adjusted the human mind, in its normal action, to to do so, but various examples of his observance of

inciples, it seems to shine by its own light ; it is self- But I want to say a word here on the question of the evident ; it comes by intuition ; it presents itself at the trustworthiness of the human faculties, and the matter very point of duty where we need it. Though strict- of infidelity. And in order to a clear understanding

5. 'To affirm that reason and the human soul are The 'authority of the Bible,' then, that which gives absolute, and that our own minds are to be our only

ferent things. The first is our highest and most perfect standard; the last, a repository of important truths and hurtful errors, between which it is our indispensations of the during the distribution of the during the distribution of the during the dur and hurtful errors, between which it is our indispensable duty to discriminate by the light God gives us. Let me ask thee, dost thou accept the whole Bible as the truth of God, and thy standard of faith and practice—Old Testament and New? If not, which part dost thou accept, and how far? And what determines thee in thy choice? These are momentous practical questions. Be so good as to give me a clear and full answer to the standard of the content of the sense, our own minds are our only guide—to affirm that is not only 'infidelity,' but atheism. The human soul stands in connection with physical and spiritual soul stands in connection with physical and spiritual being. With the first, through the bodily senses; with I am disappointed in thy reply, in another respect: the last, by its own properties. Man is dependent, for fails to answer the important question I first proposus endeavor to understant each other in an in positions bearing on the subject. These may be comprised in some half dozen propositions, which, for perspicuity, I light; if spiritual things, through the medium of spiritual things. 1. 'The essence of Christianity is love to God and sion is not sight to him; and when he sees an object, itual light. In regard to physical nature, others' vi ove to man. It originated in the bosom of God. It he does not need the word of another to make him know had its birth before material things took form. Its es- that he sees it. The testimony of another may be sential principles are anterior to all the records of confirmation of the truth of his own senses. And To this proposition, of course, I have no objection, have not come within the action of his senses, may be except it be the incongruity of the existence of a religion before human beings existed to be the subjects of facts reported. But if he doubt the testimony— The statement contains two important concessions: if it is discrepant—if it conflict with any great nat That love to God and man is the essence or sub- ural law, the existence of which he knows by hi stance of Christianity. 2. That it had its birth before own experience, and he think it of sufficient me Jesus had his birth, being 'in its essential principles older than all the records of time.' It did not, therefore, originate with him, but stands independent of any ity to it, or the use of such instruments as will bring necessary connection, either with Jesus or the Bible. it within the purview of his senses. And so of spir And it must needs be so, if it be absolute or true reli-And it must needs be so, in to be absolute of true ren-gion—the tie which binds the finite to the Infinite— (and if not that, we want something better.) For, to suppose that so important and sublime a provision of the provisio was omitted until many thousand years after the creation of mankind, would be sadly to reflect on the Divine see, and understand its application to practice, as by goodness. But this point also is conceded in thy statement, that 'Jesus came in a dark age to reveal and ternal things, and learn their character and uses. And restore it. 'Had it not previously existed, not only in our faculties, in both cases, must be trustworthy, o 2. 'Jesus of Nazareth-called "the Christ," and sout it, either in morals, mathematics, or any desired of God "-is the only authoritative exponent of what constitutes love to God and man, having been judge of things, properties, relations, principles, relations itself. sent of God to that end. He came in a dark age, to sults, morals, religion; in short, of revelation itself reveal and restore Christianity, - (that is, to show men and all that is revealed. We have nothing else by what love to God is, and what love to man is, and to which to do it. God has given them to us to that end bring them to the experience of both,)—and that revelation, which is contained in the record of the doctrine bility is individual and personal; and hence, though and practice of Jesus is authoritative in all cases of faith we are intended in all things to be ministers of recipro and practice; he who deviates from it "wanders cal benefits to each other, in judging of the great mat guideless through the fields of religious speculation." ters of truth and error, right and wrong, we are to have substituted 'only authoritative exponent' for trust our own minds in preference to the mind of any 'an authoritative exponent,' used by thee, the sentence other. For the revelation to our own minds must b

more certain to us than any revelation, or history of a revelation, made, or said to be made, to another the decision of our own minds, however perverted their e decision of the course imperative in regard to duty So taught Jesus: 'Why judge ye not of yourselve what is right? ' He did not tell them their faculting what is right:
were not to be trusted to decide what is evil and that good, but everywhere in his appeals took for granted their reliability; recognizing the self-evident granter then that, as Locke well expresses it, our Reason must be our last judge and guide in everything. And must be our mast jumper and the first state of the second truth, in the use of those faculties he has given us to But let me refer thee to a type of infidelity that is

abroad in the land, and which, clothed in a abroad in the man, the more than imperial role of the successor of St. Peter,' to the simple black coat of the last sub-division of protestant sects, and with its phylast sub-division of pro-Nazarene, mounts the pulpit and occupies the professor's Nazarene, mounts the purpose of the processors chair. Its teaching is, that formerly God inspired me, chair. Its tenoming the truth, wisdom, goodness, so that they had them at first hand. The word of God came to then; they heard for themselves and understood. Revelation was then a living, internal, personal experience, as the perception of objects by the sun's light is a personal et. perience. To find it, men had not to look out of then. selves; it was an unfolding of God and his will, ma and his relation and duties, by the light of God's min, the present operation of his perfect laws. But now inspiration and revelation are in a Book; it is not to be had direct as formerly. God spoke his last direct word more than eighteen hundred years ago, when the lag tract in the Bible was penned. The Bible is Gar Book, God's word, emphatically inspiration and revelation, the highest we can get; God's supreme law, and the rule of practice to all men. Thus it denies the fire and greatest of all Divine truths, that on which all others depend, God's present and continuous settor is the world of mind, as in the world of matter. It denies God's omnipresence and unchangeableness; for, unless he has changed, and is remote from us, he necessarily sustains the same relation to the human mind be ever did, and inspiration is the same it ever was. It denies his impartial goodness, his parental character, in making him better to his children of past ages than to those of the present; for who would not infinitely prefer to hear a parent's word, receive from himself his will or testament, than have it repeated by another? especially one in the same flesh and blood sphere with ourselve, where there would be liability of innocent error, or fraudulent design ? Instead of calling men to the inner sanctuary of the soul, where only God's presence on be known, and where only he can be worshipped in spirit and in truth, it calls them to an outward record, the imperfect work of men of less or more attainment in truth, and asks them to fall down and worship that, and let reason, conscience, and the religious senting keep silence before it. It calls them to 'the letter,' me to 'the spirit,' but denies that.

This, my friend, is the INFIDELITY, which, as a dead. ly leprosy, has infected whole Christendom-head, and heart, and hand. It reels, and staggers, and squints, and mumbles Greek and Hebrew words, but cannot look truth straight in the face. It fears the intelligence of the nineteenth century, and dreads the discoveries of science, lest THE STANDARD be proved defective. A secret misgiving, that in many things it will not bear a rigid examination, disturbs its rest. Yet, notwithmand ing one part is confessedly Jewish, another Christian, and a third mixed, and notwithstanding the conflict between Old Testament and New, and the defects in nomin and religion, (to say nothing of philosophy,) which meet us throughout the volume, it stoutly affirms that the whole is harmonious and consistent !- No wooder it takes authority for truth, not truth for authority. I rests upon the sand, and when truth is raised down and the floods of light come, and the winds of here blow, the structure is swept away-as ever must be 'the refuge of lies.'

I had intended to say something on 'development, and to demonstrate that 'to be a Christian is to be a Man'-a perfect, true, developed man, in the rightful exercise of all his faculties ; and that in proportion his perfect and harmonious development is his Chris tianity. And this true man, and true Christian, I sp prehend, is yet to be. But the length of this stick dmonishes me to bring it to a close. THOMAS M'CLINTOCK.

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ality.

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References:

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